AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

CAUSES

OF THE

ENCREASE and MISERIES

OF THE

POOR of *England*;

Which are ſhewn to be,

I. TAXES, eſpecially Exciſes and Cuſtoms. II. Luxury. III. Abſence of our GREAT MEN from their Countries. IV. Corruption at Elections. V. Incloſures of Commons. VI. Neglect of Apprenticing Poor Children. VII. Not Executing the *Laws* againſt Idle and Diſorderly People. VIII. The great Number of Ale-Houſes.

Occaſioned by the late WORK-HOUSE SCHEME;

With ſome OBJECTIONS to it.

To which are added,

I. A Scheme for the *Publick Education* of CHILDREN.

II. For the Eſtabliſhment of ORDER, in Imitation of *King ALFRED*.

III. A Propoſal for raiſing the ANNUAL SUPPLIES, by a Tax on the *Incomes* and *Abilities* of the Subjects, after the Example of that Great MINISTER *XIMINES*.

With a PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE,

On the Neceſſity of a Nation's returning to the *Firſt Principles* of RELIGION and MORALITY.

By the AUTHOR of,

The DISSUASIVE from *Party* and *Religious Animoſities*.

Saluſt. Bell. Cat. *Imperium facile iis Artibus retinetur, Quibus initio partum eſt. Verum, ubi pro labore Deſidia, pro Continentia & Equitate Lubido atque Superbia invaſere, Fortuna ſimul cum Moribus immutatur.*

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INTRODUCTION.

WHEN God *hath given a People, a fruitful and pleaſant* Land, *that richly abounds with all the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life, He hath certainly done the Part of a Wiſe and Beneficent* Creator; *having put it in the Power of his* Reaſonable Creatures *to be Happy, if They will themſelves take Courſes for it.* — *Therefore, if, after This, any numerous Body of the* Community *are in extreme Want and Miſery, the Fault muſt lie at the Door of the* Commonwealth *itſelf. It muſt be owing, either, to ſome* Defects *in the Conſtitution, to* Oppreſſion *practiſed, or* ill Policy *purſued, by Thoſe in the Adminiſtration of the Government; to* Corruption *or* Negligence *in Magiſtrates and Under-Officers; to* Luxury *in the Rich, or* Hard Dealing *by Them towards the Poor; or laſtly, to* Vice *and* Diſorderly Habits *in the Poor Themſelves; I ſay, after* Providence *hath extended its Bounty to a Nation, in ſo beneficent a Manner, it muſt be owing to ſome, or all, of thoſe Cauſes, if any conſiderable Part of the People is in* Penury.

That the Poor *of this Nation are, within Half a Century paſt, greatly encreaſed, is viſible and acknowledged by every obſerving Perſon; and not only ſo, but is felt from Heavy* Poor Rates *in almoſt every Pariſh. This Proviſion for thoſe who fall into* Want, *is* Wiſe, Humane *and* Juſt; *and therefore well becomes the*

benevolent Publick Spirit that ought always to preſide in a Free People, *and to influence all their Actions. But however, This Burthen, added to our other* Pariſh-Rates, *and the immenſe* Publick Taxes, *added to* Theſe; All *together, are ſuch* Spunges *upon a Middling Eſtate, like* Vulturs *preying continually on its Entrails, as have already brought many an* Honeſt, Induſtrious Family, *that heretofore lived comfortably, and had ſomething to ſpare to help their* Poor Neighbours *too; firſt, to* Mortgage, *next, to* Sell, *their* Eſtates; *and laſtly, forced Them to go and aſk* Relief, *where they formerly gave it.*

I think farther, it is too probable, that both the Number *and* Miſeries *of our Poor, are more like to be encreaſed, than diminiſhed, in Time to come. The* Low Price *which the* Produce of our Lands *in general have ſold at for ſeveral Years, has reduced a great many* Farmers *to Poverty, who, after their Stocks have been ſeized by their* Landlords *for Rent, are forced to* work *for their Bread, and have of late pretty much increaſed the Number of our* Working People. *Indeed, this* Cheapneſs *of Commodities has made Them the better able to get Bread, with but* Half *Work enough, and even That at a* Low Price. *Now, ſuppoſe, the Price of the* Productions of our Lands *ſhould ſink, and continue low, ſtill more* Farmers *muſt be Ruined, or their* Landlords *Fall their Rents; but if, on the contrary, the* Neceſſaries of Life *ſhould grow* Dearer, *the Poor, who want Work, muſt ſtarve, or come to the Pariſh; in either of which Caſes, the* Landed Man *is ſure to be the Sufferer, at the ſame time that our* Publick Taxes *are as High as ever, to Drain his Pocket that Way: So that except* Trade *can be made to Revive, the* Cheapneſs of Things *will only put off the* Evil Day *the longer, and being a Means to reduce more People to Poverty, will make it fall the* Heavier *at laſt.*

On

On the other hand; *The* Decreaſe of Trade, *be the Neceſſaries of Life* Cheap *or* Dear, *muſt make a more deplorable Havock among* Middling Traders, *than among Thoſe whoſe Dependance is on Land*; *becauſe They feel the immediate Effects of it. As* Trade *takes its Wings and flies away to Nations who uſe it in a more friendly Manner, and load it with the fewer* Impoſts, *which are contrary to its Genius, and the greateſt Enemies of its Proſperity, Their* Livelihood *muſt of Neceſſity ſink, with the only Means they have to gain it, and their little Subſtance will ſoon be ſpent, when it comes to be the laſt and ſole Support of Families, that have been uſed to live in a Creditable, Handſome Manner*; *and who, perhaps, in Hopes of* better Times, *break in upon their* Capital Stock, even *before they decreaſe their* Trade, *through an Unwillingneſs to let a Cenſorious World ſee their approaching Ruin before it comes upon Them.*

Not, that the large Annual Drainings *out of our Eſtates by Taxes, and the* Decay of Trade, *are the only Cauſes of this* Poverty. *A* Virtuous People *can never be* Miſerable, *nor* Poor *neither, in ſuch a Senſe as includes Penury, and Want of the* Neceſſaries *of Life*; *which is the Poverty we here mean, and which now afflicts, and threatens ſtill more to afflict, the common People of this Nation*: *Nor, can a* Vicious Nation *long abound in* Happineſs *or* Wealth: *For, theſe Bleſſings grow and can flouriſh, only, in the Field of* Virtue, *and in a Country where* True Religion, Order *and* Liberty *are eſtabliſhed, and their Principles ſteadily kept to. Therefore, together with thoſe juſt mentioned, the* Vices *of the People Themſelves, and the* Negligence *of Magiſtrates and Officers in the Execution of thoſe Good Laws, which the Wiſdom of Parliament hath provided to Diſcountenance and Puniſh* Vice, *and promote* Virtue *in its Place, and ſome* other Things, *which we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter, are likewiſe* Cauſes *of the* Poverty *and* Miſery *of our People,*

and

and I humbly think, ſo many portentous Proofs, that this Evil *is like to be greatly increaſed in Time to come.*

As to the Preſent State *of our Poor People, nothing ſhews more their* Increaſe *and* Miſeries, *and the great* Burthen *they are become to Landed Eſtates, than the great Number of* Work-houſes *ſet up within our Memory, in Towns and Populous Places: And above all, the* Bill *lately brought into Parliament, for Them to be all ſent to* Work-houſes, *built and furniſhed at an immenſe Expence, as faſt as they become chargeable to any Pariſh. How far ſuch a Scheme is conſiſtent with the* Liberties *of a Free People, or, would anſwer its Deſign, I ſhall conſider preſently. But it is, however, certain, that* This *ſpeaks in a moſt affecting Manner, the Complaints of a Nation, filled with* vicious, idle, diſſolute Poor; *and of* Landed Men, *groaning under the Burthen of an* Expence *they can hardly bear; that is, in other Words, the Complaints of great Multitudes of our* Fellow-Chriſtians, Countrymen, *and* Poor Neighbours, *in ſuch an unhappy Condition of* Mind, Body *and* Eſtate, *as will not fail, I charitably hope, of exciting the Compaſſion of all People of* Virtuous Minds, *ſo far as, by all poſſible Ways, to labour towards the Relief of their* preſent, *and the Prevention of their* future Evils!

As to the Scheme of putting the Poor *into* Work-Houſes, *the following* Objections *do naturally ariſe to it; which, altho' we ſhall, without enlarging on them, comprehend in as few Words as poſſible, yet ſeem to be of very* great Weight, *and to deſerve the moſt attentive Conſideration.*

Firſt, *Every* Civil Society *pre-ſuppoſes an* original Contract, *or reciprocal Agreement between all its particular Members,* Rich *and* Poor; *not only that they ſhall contribute their* joint Powers *towards their common Defence; for then, the* Rich *only, would be Gainers by* Society; *but alſo, that they ſhall ſupport each*

each other with the common Comforts *of Life, the* ſolideſt *and moſt* valuable *of which are, the* Aſſiſtance *and* Converſation, *in a reaſonable Way, of* Parents, Children, Relations, *and* Friends, *who are a* little Society, *eſtabliſhed by Divine Wiſdom and Providence in every* great One *of the Common-wealth; with thoſe* Rights, mutual Enjoyments, *and* Duties, *the Confinement of a Work-houſe, ſeems inconſiſtent: For,*

Secondly, *To be taken from our* Home, *from our neareſt and deareſt* Relations *and* Friends, *carried, it may be, to ſeveral* Miles *Diſtance, and there confined in a* Work-houſe, *as in a* Priſon; *let it be called what ſoft Name it will, is really a* Puniſhment; *nay, next to* Death *and* Tranſportation, *the greateſt Puniſhment that is commonly inflicted on* Criminals. *This* Puniſhment *being indiſcriminately inflicted on all, for no* Crime, *but only, the Misfortune of being* Poor, *ſeems agreeable with neither* Charity *or* Juſtice, *nor defenſible from the* Law of GOD, *the* Dictates of Reaſon, *or the* common Right *of ſociate Members. Let any* rich Perſon *but ask himſelf in the Calm of his Thoughts*; Should I be willing to be ſerved ſo, if I was POOR? *and he will want no greater Reaſon to convince him, than what will come from the Anſwer of his* own Conſcience!

Thirdly, *As the* general Trade *of the Nation would receive no new Encouragement or Encreaſe from it, if the Eſtabliſhment of* Work-houſes *ſhould draw the chief Part of the* Trade *we have remaining, into them, (as I have heard ſome* judicious Gentlemen *apprehend) they would, according to the vulgar Proverb,* Rob Peter to pay Paul; *that is, take the* Work *out of the Hands, and by it, the Bread out of the Mouths of* other Poor, *who now ſubſiſt without the Help of a* Pariſh, *by their own* Induſtry *and* Labour; *Which,*

Fourthly, *Would continually bring ſo many* poor People *into our Work-houſes*; *That, beſides the great Expence*

Expence of ſetting them up *at firſt, This would perpetuate the Burthen, to enlarge them from time to time, to receive ſtill greater Numbers. Many a* Cottage *may be* depopulated, *many an* Houſe *ſtand* void, *and* rentleſs *to the Landlord, whilſt he is paying his Quota to a Rate for enlarging the* Work-houſe, *to receive his Tenant, and providing Materials for his Work: For, 'tis proper here, to take Notice, that let an* Act of Parliament *limit a* pariſh Rate *to what* ſmall Sum *it will, except it provides otherwiſe for extraordinary Expence, the* Limitation *cannot be kept to, and will be only an Occaſion of Diſputes: An Inſtance of which we have in the Statute of* 3 *and* 4 *of* W. *and* M. *which Enacts, That a* Highway Rate *ſhall not exceed* Six Pence *in the* Pound; *notwithſtanding which, there are numberleſs Inſtances where the* Roads *are ſo bad, that* Juſtices *are obliged to allow That in* two Rates, *which they are prohibited doing in* One. *And by Parity of Reaſon, it will be the ſame in This, and in every Caſe, where the Law* limits *the* Expence *of* Uncertain Contingencies.

Laſtly, *Altho' was this Scheme to take Place, the Conſtitution of* Guardians *choſen by* Ballot, *ſeems to be the moſt excellent Part of it; yet, I cannot but be humbly of Opinion, that, to leave the Choice wholly to the* Lot, *would be much better, than to give the* Juſtices *a Power to ſtrike out a* Third *Part of them, which is, properly ſpeaking, to give them a Power to model the Corporation, as they think fit. To chuſe* Perſons of Truſt *by* Lot, *is to refer the Choice of them wholly to Providence; why then ſhall we ſubtract ourſelves from under* God's *Providence, to refer the Care of our Affairs to Men? Beſides, was ſuch a* Modelling Power *proper, it muſt appear to all* judicious Perſons, *to be improperly placed in* Juſtices of Peace, *conſidering how much their* Fellow-Subjects *lie at their Mercy already, till ſome proper Regulations are made, in order to fill the* Commiſſion *with Gentlemen,*

tlemen, whoſe Virtues *render them every Way* equal *to a* Truſt, *which ſo great a Number of* Statutes, *the Execution of which is veſted in Them, hath rendered ſo* important *to this Nation.*

Beſides, I can ſee no Reaſon that can poſſibly incline a Chriſtian *and a* Free Society, *to cut off its* poor, impotent Members *from the common Comforts of Life, by putting Them into a State of* Confinement, *before they give them a* Maintenance, *rather than aſſiſting Them at their reſpective* poor Habitations, *and leaving Them* Free *in their unfortunate* Poverty, *except it be, that they have contracted* vicious *and* idle Habits, *and do not contribute as they are able, and ought to do, by* Work *and* Induſtry, *to the Support of Society, and the Maintenance of Themſelves and Families For, an* induſtrious Perſon, *as He labours more chearfully, ſo will labour* harder, *when at* Liberty, *than* Confined. *And an* Old, Impotent, *or* Sick Perſon, *or a* Child, *wants no more Cloathing, Victuals, or Attendance, when left to the Care of that* Poor Family *in which* GOD *and* Nature *have placed him, than if ſnatched away from their Arms, and put to the Care of Thoſe, who, as they have no Ties of* Natural Affection, *may ſometimes want, even,* Humanity *towards them.*

It is, indeed, a lamentable Truth, that many of our Poor *are degenerated into ſuch a wretched State of* Pravity, *that they ſeem to have little Senſe of* Labouring *to get their Livelihood; and becauſe they know their Pariſhes are bound by Law to keep them, are diſpoſed to throw themſelves wholly on a* Pariſh: *Alas! it is the* Lazineſs, Drunkenneſs, Debauches, *and almoſt every Kind of* Vice, *to which great Numbers of our* Poor People *are deplorably addicted, that hath weaned the Affection of many* ſober, induſtrious, well-meaning *People from them, and gained the greateſt Part of the Favourers of the* Work-houſe *Scheme. That ſomething is neceſſary to be done in ſuch a Caſe, is very certain; but in our humble Opinion, the only Way to do real Service to the* Publick *in it, is to begin with enqui-*

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ring into the true Original Cauſes *of the Evil. For the* Effect *can never ceaſe, 'till the* Cauſe *is taken away.* Remedies *may, indeed, be propoſed; but if they are ſuch as will not go to any one* Root *of the Evil complained of, 'tis certain, they will fail of the* Good Effect *propoſed.*

We ſhall for this Reaſon, in the Firſt Part *of the following* Tract, *enter into* an impartial Enquiry into *the* Grand Cauſes *of the preſent* Poverty *and* Diſorders, *ſo juſtly complained of, among the* Common People *of this Kingdom; which, as they as naturally follow;* 1ſt, *The* Publick Taxes; —— 2dly, *The* Luxury of the Age; —— 3dly, *The* Abſence of our *Great Men* from their reſpective Countries; —— 4*thly*, Corruption at Elections; —— 5*thly*, Depriving Poor People of Paſture in Waſtes and Commons. —— 6*thly*, Negligence in Apprenticing Poor Children; —— 7*thly*, Not forcing idle People to Services, and neglecting to puniſh little Crimes; — *And*, 8thly, *The* Great Number of Ale-houſes: *I ſay, as* Publick Poverty *and* Diſorders *as naturally follow theſe Things, as* Rivulets *flow from their* Fountains; *We ſhall proceed to make our* Enquiry, *under ſo many ſeveral Heads.*

From hence, I believe, it will appear, that the only Sure, *and* Wiſeſt *Way, to raiſe the* Lower Sort *of People above their preſent* Pravity, Poverty *and* Depreſſion, *will be, by means of ſome much-wanted* Regulations *in the Commonwealth, to reduce our People into* better Order, *and to uſe proper Ways to inſpire them with a higher Senſe of their* Duty *to GOD and MAN, and to revive our* Trade. *For this End, we have, in the* Second Part, *preſumed to add* Three Propoſals: Firſt, *For the general* Education of Children; Secondly, *For the* Prevention and Diſcovery of Criminals; *And*, Thirdly, *For raiſing the* Supplies of the Government, without ſubjecting our Trade and Commerce to any Incumbrances. —— *On theſe* important Subjects, *we do not pretend to have advanced any thing, but what ought to undergo the Scrutiny and Amendment of* better Judges,

Judges, *before it is eſtabliſhed; and only wiſh, it may excite ſuch, to propoſe what is more perfect. For* Theſe, *as they ſtrike at the very* Roots *of our* preſent Evils, *are the chief Ways wherein* Real Good *can be done our Country.*

If the Freedom or Manner we have taken to treat of theſe Things, ſhould be unacceptable to any, becauſe it lays open the Pernicious Meaſures, Vices, Oppreſſions, Neglects of Publick Duty, *&c. which have brought the* Common People *to this miſerable State, we ſhall be heartily ſorry for it! —— I wiſh their Condition was either ſo* Happy *as not to need ſuch Enquiry, or, that their* Miſery *and* Diſorders *were owing to other Cauſes! But as a Man owes his very* Being *and* Preſervation, *under* GOD, *to his* Country, *it is certainly his Duty, as far as he is able, to diſcover the Cauſes of any Evils, which do either afflict, or threaten her; and to omit it, through the ſervile Impulſes of* Fear *or* Flattery *towards any, would be, to be governed by ſuch a contemptible* Meanneſs of Spirit, *as would render him unworthy to partake of the Bleſſings of a* Free Country, *or of the common Benefit of Society, the Protection of* Government *and* Laws.

AN

ENQUIRY, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Heavy Publick Taxes, *a Principal Cauſe of Poverty: Their pernicious Effects to People, both, in the* Landed, *and* Trading *Intereſts. The Nature of* Commerce, *and its Importance to this Nation; the Neceſſity of giving it all poſſible Encouragement at this Time; the great Diſcouragement to* Trade, *and the Hurtful Conſequences of Taxes on* Commodities *conſidered.*

THE exceſſive *Luxury* introduced into this Nation, during the Reign of King *Charles* the *Second*, which corrupted the *frugal Habits* of the laſt Age, and mightily altered the Genius of this Nation for the worſe, was but an ill-boding Preparation for the *immenſe Expence* which *Great-Britain* was put to, in the *Great War* that immediately followed the *Revolution*; and which ſhe was, without Diſpute, under an abſolute Neceſſity of engaging in, for the Preſervation of her own, and of the *Liberties* of *Europe*.

When a *War* becomes neceſſary, it is alſo neceſſary to defray the Charges of it, by *extraordinary Taxes*; and if theſe fall ſhort, to contract *National Debts*. But, when Men already live up to the Top of their *Incomes*, to maintain *Luxury* and *Extravagance*, the Acceſſion of every *new Tax*, is a new, unknown, and unforeſeen Drain of Money, which they are forced

forced to raiſe, by contracting *private Debts*, mortgaging their *Eſtates*, or racking their *Tenants*: For *Luxury*, when once embraced, is commonly *too dear* an Object to *effeminate Souls*, to be parted with at any Rate whatever; and oft puts People upon Courſes that are *ruinous* to their own *Families*, or, to prevent that *Ruin*, *cruel* to *others*, in Order to feed its inſatiable Vanity!——This, therefore, was but an *unhappy Diſpoſition* for a People to be in, when a Neceſſity ſoon came on for them to be loaded with all the *Taxes*, which could almoſt be invented. And, hence, *Debts*, *Mortgages*, *Sale* of their *Eſtates*, and, in fine, *Poverty*, have been to many a *once* creditable and ſubſtantial *Family*, the fatal Conſequences of the *publick Taxes*, added to their own *Luxury*.

Now, as Nature dictates to every one the Principle of *Self-preſervation*, it is natural for every Perſon, if, of *Himſelf*, and *another*, ONE muſt ſuffer, to ſhift off, if he can, the *ſuffering Part*, from himſelf, to his Neighbour.——Hence, too many of *our Landed Men* have found out the Way, to make their *Tenants* bear the Burthen, which was originally deſigned to lie upon *themſelves*, by raiſing the *Fines* and *Rents* upon their Eſtates; through Means of which, Tenants are forced to pay a *double Share* of Taxes, (*viz.*) their *own*; having no *Underlings* on whom they can ſhift it off,——and their Landlords, in the Advancement of their *Fines* and *Rents*. By theſe continual Drainings, many *Copy* and *Leaſe-Holders* for Lives, have been diſabled from *renewing*; and ſo, their ancient Patrimony hath fallen into the *Lord*'s Hands; whilſt, on the other Side, great Numbers of *Farmers*, their *Rack-Rents*, allowing them to lay up but *little* in Store in *dear* Times, on every little Turn of *Cheapneſs* of Corn, Cattle, Wool, *&c.* are reduced to the calamitous Neceſſity of ſeeing their *Stocks* ſeized, for their Landlord's *Rent*.——By theſe Means, together with that *Luxury*, and other *common Vices*, from which, alas! No Sort of People are, at this Time, exempt; the *Country Folks*, who formerly lived comfortably, and in Credit, upon *mean Fortunes*, in theſe *two Ways*, have been for a good while generally *declining*, *decreaſing*, and great Numbers of Families brought to *Poverty*.

But theſe *Evils*, which the *Immenſity* of the publick Taxes brings, or, at leaſt, helps more than any thing elſe, to bring upon the *lower Sort* of People in the *landed Intereſt*, are ſmall in Compariſon of thoſe that ariſe from the ſame Cauſe, to the *Nation in general*, and particularly, to her *Trade*; and are chiefly owing to the pernicious Method of collecting the greateſt Part of them; I mean, to *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes*.

To

To enumerate *Theſe*, remount to their ſeveral *Cauſes*, and ſhew all their unavoidable *evil Effects*, would be to write an *Eſſay* on Trade and Merchandiſe, too voluminous to be inſerted within the narrow Limits of this Tract: And beſides, hath been done already in a much better Manner than we can preſume to attempt to do it, by *abler Pens*. We ſhall therefore, after having ſhewn in general, the great Bleſſings arising to any Nation from a *flouriſhing Trade*, and how abſolutely neceſſary it is, that *Great Britain* ſhould, at this Time, uſe all poſſible Ways to preſerve Her's, briefly ſhew the bad Conſequences of thoſe *Methods of Taxation*, in a few Inſtances only.

The Bleſſings of *Trade*, are unqueſtionably very great to any Country, where it is duly encouraged and made to flouriſh. It is *Trade* that encourages Manufacture and Induſtry; it tranſports all the *ſuperfluous Produce* of the Country which is made its *Seat*, and brings Home in Exchange, not only all the *Neceſſaries* and *Conveniencies* of Life, from the moſt diſtant Climates, but makes all the *Riches* of this terreſtrial Globe, in a Manner, to flow and center in her. Nay, *Trade* hath rendered, even *depopulated Places*, full of *People*, and made many a poor, barren Country, opulent and abounding in all Things. *Plenty of Proviſions*, *Apparel*, *Gold*, *Diamonds*, and whatever elſe the Earth produces, is by it brought Home to the Doors of a *trading People*. And, as *Riches*, when not thrown away on the baſe Implements of *Luxury* and *Corruption*, but made a *wiſe* and *virtuous* Uſe of, are the *Sinews of War*; for that Reaſon, *Trade*, which procures Theſe, procures alſo *Power*, and *military* Strength and Reputation abroad; and has frequently cauſed a People of ſmall Territory to be equally *formidable* with large Empires.

But, to obtain, or ſecure all theſe *great Advantages* to herſelf, a Nation muſt give all poſſible Encouragement to *Trade*; and conſidering how truly *valuable* they are, it is not only very *impolitick*, but it is *unjuſt* and *ungrateful*, not to do it. There is not a Thing in the World of a more nice and delicate Taſte, than the *Spirit of Trade*; it can live only with a People, whoſe *Liberties* are its Protection againſt that *Oppreſſion* and *rapacious Violence*, which are commonly practiſed by *abſolute Princes*; and where frequent, free, and open Enquiries into corrupt and clandeſtine Practices, are a Guard to the *Fair Adventurer*, againſt the vile Arts of *Stock-jobbers*, and the Frauds and Juggles of *Corrupt*, *voracious Miniſters*. Trade, therefore, that loves *Eaſe* and *Indulgence*, can flouriſh and produce its genuine happy Effects, in no Country where

where that *Eaſe* and *Indulgence*, which are agreeable with its Nature, are not granted it: And *theſe* are nothing elſe but a Protection againſt Oppreſſion, by *Violence*, *Frauds*, and *high Duties*. Where TRADE is *wiſely* had in Conſideration enough by the Common-wealth, to obtain this *Protection*, there it reſides, and there it will flouriſh, and enrich the Community. On the contrary; in Countries where it is ſubjected, or made liable to theſe Hardſhips and Inconveniencies, it takes its Wings and flies away, leaving its *former Poſſeſſors*, to repent at Leiſure, of their cruel Folly, in having, by *hard Uſage*, forced away the greateſt Bleſſing which a *kind Providence* is wont to beſtow on its *favourite People*, and whoſe Departure fills every Corner of the Land with Miſery.

MERCHANTS, who are the very *Heart-Blood* of Trade, to carry it on at the Hazard of *Seas* and *Storms* to every Quarter of the Globe, are, properly ſpeaking, an *independent Society* of Men, (if any are ſo) attached to no particular Country, but ſeek in all the Corners of the Earth, the Climates of *Liberty*, *Eaſe*, and *Indulgence*, we have been ſpeaking of, agreeable with the *Spirit of Trade*, which is in them. If ſome Nations are ſo *beſotted* as to deny it, they know very well, that *Commerce*, which they bring with them, carries in itsBoſom ſo many great and ſolid Bleſſings to whatever Country they ſettle in, as will gain the Encouragement they want of every *wiſe People*: For, a *wiſe People*, will be glad to have the *Riches of Merchandize* gathered from all Parts of the Earth, and lay'd up, and made to center in their *own Country*, as *Bees* gather into their *Hives*, the *delicious Sweetneſs* of all the adjacent Fields.

GREAT-BRITAIN ſeems, on ſeveral Accounts, to have been originally deſigned by Providence, to be the Country of a *free* and *happy People*, and the Seat of a great and flouriſhing *Trade*. Our *Anceſtors* were ſenſible of this; and wiſely fore-ſeeing the many Advantages that would accrue to the Nation from it, did all they could to make her ſo. GOD be thanked, they ſucceeded in their wiſe and honeſt Endeavours; and our Country hath been the chief Empory of *Commerce*, as well as the Aſylum of *Liberty*, for many *Years*, I may ſay, *Ages* paſt.——After what hath been ſaid of *Trade* in general, and the Experience we have had, I need not reckon up its *happy Effects*: Whoever ſees our *Splendor* at Home, or conſiders how *potent* and *formidable* we have been to other Nations, I preſume, will want no farther Conviction. Our *Neighbours* are ſenſible whence it is that our *Wealth* and *Power* have ariſen to us; they know it is to our *Trade*, that we chiefly owe theſe Advantages which we have over them

them. Nor do our *natural Enemies* want to be told, that to judge from natural Cauſes, they can never depreſs us, ſo long as our *Trade* remains; but that, in Proportion as it decreaſes, we ſhall become, of Courſe, a *poor*, *enſlaved*, *impotent*, and *miſerable* People!

Hence it comes, that almoſt every Nation in *Europe*, ſeems to be of late actuated by the *Spirit of Trade*; and we ſee every Country, as it were, in Emulation, eſtabliſhing *Marts* and *Companies*; encouraging *Manufactures*, and uſing all poſſible Ways to open a Door to *Traffick* at Home: Nay, even *abſolute Princes*, whoſe arbitrary Government is, of all Things, the moſt contrary to a *trading Genius*, are willing to relax the Reins of the beloved *Deſpotiſm*, and grant the *Merchant* extraordinary *Privileges* and *Immunities*, in order to encourage him to ſettle with them.

It is, without Doubt, a Time for this Nation to double her Care to keep her TRADE, when ſhe ſees ſo great a Combination of her *Neighbours* and of her *Enemies* to take it from her: It is certainly, a Time when all *Party Spirit*, *Pique*, *Influence*, and even *Intereſt* and *Power* themſelves, ought to give Way, before it is too late, to preſerve this inеſtimable *Publick Bleſſing*, which, if ever it be taken from her, will ſink both the *Wealth* and *Power* of *England* to a *low Degree*; and which can never be retrieved, but as *Trade* revives. For this Reaſon, no *Engliſhman* can reflect without *Sorrow*, on the Diſcouragements which *Trade* hath of late Years met with from the *Excluſive Privileges* of our Great Companies, the *Frauds* which have in our Time been practiſed by them, and the Neglect of making *open Enquiries* to puniſh and prevent thoſe *Frauds*; to which might be added, the *ill State* of ſome of our *Colonies*, the *Depredations* our *Merchants* have ſuffered, and ſome other *Publick Misfortunes*; which have doubtleſs been very diſcouraging to the *Fair Trader*, and do evidently, tho' undeſignedly, favour theſe Deſigns of the *Enemies* of our Commerce. But, what is more than all *Theſe*, a Damp upon our *Trade*, becauſe it is a continual Load upon it; is, as I have ſaid, the *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes*: Some of the pernicious Effects of which, we ſhall now ſtop to enquire into.

When a *Tax* is laid on a *Perſon*, or (which we ſhall ſhew hereafter to be the *juſteſt* and *wiſeſt* Method of Taxation) on the *Annual Incomes* of the Members of a Common-wealth, it lies where it ought to lie, *viz.* on the *Man*, and on his *Private Eſtate*; which contributes towards the Supplies of the *Government*, ſuch a Proportion of what it brings in to the

Owner, as the Neceſſity of the *National Circumſtances* require, and the Wiſdom of the *Legiſlature* thinks fit to impoſe. But when, inſtead of This, Taxes are laid on *Commodities*, which are the Materials of *Trade* and *Commerce*, it does not, indeed, take the Burthen off the *Man*, and throw it upon *Trade*; but without any *Neceſſity*, (except it be that *Trade* is look'd on as an *Enemy* that ought to be ſuppreſſed) it lays the Burthen on *Trade* firſt, that, thro' its Sides, it may fall at laſt more *imperceptibly*, but much more *heavily*, on the *Man*, and on his *Private Eſtate*, than it would do, if all theſe *Ceremonious Intricacies* were laid aſide, and the *Tax* was impoſed directly on the *Man*, or on his *Eſtate*.

The immediate Effect of a Tax on any *Commodity*, is to raiſe its *Price*; which is a Diſcouragement to People to venture their Subſtance in *Trading* on it, becauſe, in Proportion to the *Tax*, the *Trade* is rendered more expenſive; and conſequently, as every Commodity is liable to *Damage*, *Loſs*, and the like *Accidents*, the *Adventurer* hazards a greater Part of his Subſtance in it. Beſides, a Diſtinction ought always to be made between the *intrinſick Worth* of a Commodity, and the *Duty* paid on it. —— A *Trader* pays both *Theſe*, when he pays the *Duty* on any *Cuſtomed* or *Exciſed* Goods; thence it paſſes on thro' the *Retailer*'s Hands, and is ſo much Money ſtill advanced to no manner of *Gain*, being never repaid 'till it comes to the *Conſumer*; and is then laid out again to put in freſh Stock. So that, that Part of the *Price* which pays the *Duty*, like the Talent wrapt in a Napkin, never brings in any Gains of Merchandize to the *Owner*, but is a continual *dead Weight* upon his Hands, and ſerves only to increaſe his Loſs, when he falls under any of the Misfortunes common to Men of Buſineſs. To make out this Dead Weight, the *Trader* is forced to take greater *Advantages*, in vending his Goods; than he could otherwiſe afford to ſell them for; which reſts at laſt on the *Conſumer*, and brings a double Hardſhip on him likewiſe, in that he not only repays the *Tax*, but pays the *Advantages* taken by the Seller into the Bargain.

One neceſſary ill Conſequence that attends raiſing the *Annual Supplies*, by Taxes laid on the *Neceſſaries of Life*, is, Raiſing the Price of Labour, in Proportion, not only to the *Tax*, but alſo to the *Advantages* taken by the *Makers*, *Importers* and *Venders* on that Account. For, *Poor Folks* cannot *Live*, and therefore cannot *Work*, ſo *Cheap* now, as they either did before theſe *Duties* were laid on, or as they could afford to do, were they taken off. *High Wages* are, indeed, a ſure Sign of a *flouriſhing People*; but in order to be ſo, they muſt be occaſioned ſolely by the *Goodneſs of Trade*, and be purely

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the Reward of our Manufacturers *ſuperior* Skill and Workmanſhip, in the reſpective Branches of it, in which they are employed. Then *High Wages* may properly be called the due Reward of *Virtue* itſelf, and are really a Sign of *National Proſperity*. But when *High Wages* are occaſioned by *High Duties*, This is ſo far from being a ſure Sign of a *good Trade*, or a *flouriſhing People*, that the certain Conſequences are *Decay* of TRADE, and *Increaſe* of POVERTY. For, the *Duty* being not ſo much a Tax on the *Poor*, as on the *Manufactures* they work on, and conſequently on *Trade*, muſt proportionably raiſe the Price of our *Home-Manufactures*, and, together with the other Diſadvantages our Trade lies under, enable our Neighbours to under-ſell us at Foreign Markets.

Another very pernicious Effect of our *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes*, is, the Powers given to the *Officers* appointed to collect thoſe *Taxes*, to enter and ſearch *Ships* and *private Houſes*. Which, beſides that it makes the *Myſteries* of Trade liable to *Inſpection*, is confeſſed by almoſt every *Engliſhman* to be ſo far from being fit to be practiſed in a *Free Country*, (was it not, as ſome tell us, *Neceſſary*) that it is one of the greateſt Encroachments on *Private Right* and *Property*, a Diſturbance to even the *Domeſtick* Happineſs and Repoſe of the *Subject*, and conſequently, one of the moſt ſenſible *Badges of Slavery* that can be impoſed on him.

The *Laws of Exciſe* are a farther, and a particular Source of Oppreſſion, peculiar to that Method of *Taxation*, becauſe they deprive a great Part of the *Subjects of England*, of that moſt Antient and Natural Right of all *Engliſhmen*, eſtabliſhed by *Magna Charta*, (viz.) *Trial by Juries*, or their *Peers*; and by eſtabliſhing it in the *Commiſſioners of Exciſe*, make the King both *Party* and *Judge*.——This Way of Determination is, for that Reaſon, no ſmall Step towards a *Legal Slavery*, ſo ſoon as there ſhall ariſe a Prince ſo *Weak*, and a Miniſter ſo *Wicked*, as to pervert thoſe *Laws*, which are deſigned for the Subjects *Security*, into Means to *oppreſs* them.

But laying aſide theſe *Conſiderations*, which, nevertheleſs, ought to affect us very intimately, as we are by *Birth-right*, and call ourſelves a *Free People*, and are bound by *Paternal Duty* and *good Conſcience* to leave, not the *Shadow*, but the *Subſtance*, of that ineſtimable Bleſſing, LIBERTY, to our Poſteirty, as we have received it from our Anceſtors: Let us conſider the *Trouble* our Merchants and Traders are put to, by the *frequent Viſits* of theſe Officers, *Rummages* after concealed Goods, ſometimes Loſs of Opportunities of *Selling* thro' their NonAttendance, *Expence* of keeping more *Servants* on this Account, and a thouſand more ſuch *Diſappointments*,

Inconveniencies, and *little Vexations*, to which they are liable: All which are ſo many *Damps* and *Fetters* upon the *Free Spirit* of Trade, and *all* tend to drive it away from us. For, it is not to be expected that Men will undergo *extraordinary Hardſhips* or *Expence*, and be content with only *ordinary Profits*. It is both juſt and reaſonable, that every *Adventurer* ſhould be paid for all *additional* Trouble, Expence and Inconvenience he is put to in carrying on his Buſineſs, by raiſing the *Price* of his Goods accordingly; and I do not doubt but every one takes Care, as near as he can, to do himſelf that Juſtice: The Effects of which, to be ſure, are very pernicious, even, as to Goods of *Home Conſumption*; but much worſe as to our *Exported Commodities*, or Commodities *Imported* from our *Plantations*, and *Exported* afterwards; becauſe it muſt be attended with raiſing their Price, and conſequently diminiſh our *Export Trade*. Theſe *Damps*, whilſt they diſcourage ſome from venturing their Subſtance in a *Mercantile* Way, and induce others to withdraw it from thence, and diſpoſe of it ſo as to be managed with more *Eaſe* and leſs *Hazard*, and, perhaps, more *Profit* to themſelves, tho' not to the Publick, tend likewiſe to make our *Merchants* forſake us: For, as is already ſaid, the Merchant is, properly ſpeaking, an *Independent Man*, and will always ſeek to make thoſe Countries his Reſidence, where he can carry on his Trade in the *freeſt* and moſt *advantageous* Manner, and be in the greateſt *Security*.

Beſides this, the *Publick* is at a very great Expence to maintain an almoſt infinite Number of *Officers*, at high Salaries, to collect the Taxes raiſed by *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſe*; which, if the *Yearly Supplies* may be as well raiſed another Way, without their *dear-bought* Aſſiſtance, is not only ſo much Money clearly given away, but it will follow, that the *Officers* themſelves are ſo many Hands taken off from *uſeful Occupations*, to which they would otherwiſe apply themſelves to their Country's Benefit; and, to ſpeak with that *Plainneſs* which the Duty of an *Engliſhman* requires in this Caſe, are turned into ſo many *Dependents on the Crown*, always ready to ſerve at *Elections*, not only with their own *Votes*, but with the Influence of thoſe *Vexations*, which it will be in the Power of any *corrupt Miniſter* who may hereafter ariſe in this Nation, to inſtruct them to cauſe to *Traders*, in the Execution of their *Offices*.——This is one Inſtance, among others, of an *Over-Balance of Power*, within a *Century* paſt, by Degrees thrown into the *Scale* on the Side of the *Crown*; which, there is too much Reaſon to fear, will in ſome future Time be made uſe of to fill our *Parliament* with the *Creatures* and *ſervile Dependents* of an *Iniquitous Miniſtry!*

To the many *Disadvantages* our Trade lies under from *Customs* and *Excises*, ought to be added, the great *Temptations* to dishoneſt Practices, created ſolely by theſe *High Duties* on Commodities; which, altho' they are not ſo direct a Cauſe of the *Increaſe* and *Miſeries* of our POOR, as ſome others are; yet, as the *fair Trader* is hereby under-ſold, to the *Hurt* of his Trade, and the *Impoveriſhment* of his Family; and as *diſhoneſt* and *illegal Practices* do always generate *Poverty*, nothing is ſo proper for us to finiſh our preſent Head of *Enquiry* with, as taking ſome Notice of the *ill Effects* that have followed the Method of raiſing the *Supplies*, by TAXES on *Commodities*, in regard to its *Natural Children*, the numerous Body of *Smugglers*.

Firſt, The *High Duties* that are laid on *Commodities*, by raiſing their *Price* very much above their *real Value*, make it ſo *gainful* a Buſineſs, to defraud the Publick of thoſe Duties, that the *ſevereſt Laws* have not been hitherto found effectual to deter Men from committing a *Crime*, which theſe *Duties* themſelves are the prime Occaſion of, by *creating* the Temptation. And truly, there is little reaſonable Probability, that whilſt the *Temptation* exiſts ſo ſtrongly, the *ſevereſt Laws* that can be made, much leſs, that are conſiſtent with the *Liberty* of a *Free People* to be made, will ever be able to ſuppreſs *Smuggling*. For where People are bred up to a *Trade*, and can gain a *Livelihood* no other Way, *immediate Death* is not ſo terrible, as the *ſtarving Condition* to which they would be reduced, by leaving off their *illegal Practices*.

Secondly, The Laws already made againſt *Smugglers*, altho' their *Audacioufneſs* has certainly given as juſt Occaſion for *ſevere Laws*, as can be given in a *Free Country*; yet are carried to ſuch a *Rigour*, as make them dangerous, even to *innocent Men*.——The making the *Intention* of aſſiſting in the *Running of Goods*, and carrying *Arms* for that Purpoſe, *Criminal*, without any *Overt-Act*; the Puniſhments of *Impriſonment*, *Tranſportation*, and on Return, *Death*; and the *large Rewards* given to the *Informers* on Conviction; All together cannot but be very terrible to the *Innocent!* Who cannot but foreſee the great Difficulty they would labour under to juſtify themſelves againſt the *Perjury* of any *vile Wretch*, perhaps, of *Smugglers*; who out of *Malice*, *Treachery*, or for *Lucre* of the *Reward*, ſhould ſwear they were aſſembled with ſuch *Intention*.

Thirdly, The making *Actions of Aſſault* upon *Officers*, tryable in any County of *England*, may not only put *accuſed Perſons* to exceſſive Expence and Trouble to defend themſelves, in Counties where their *own*, nor *Accuſers* Characters,

cannot

cannot be known, nor enquired into; but ſeems inconſiſtent with the antient and much boaſted *Privilege* of *Engliſhmen*, of having *Juſtice adminiſter'd at their own Doors*; and may be a Precedent to extend it hereafter to other Caſes, 'till it becomes *general*.

But *laſtly*; If the People in our *Maritime Counties* are ſo *generally corrupted*, that 'tis impoſſible to find an *Honeſt Jury*, that will upon a Trial, *do Juſtice* to an Officer of the Revenue; of all the *Evils* that flow from *Taxations on Commodities*, This is the moſt deplorable! And as it is the higheſt Inſtance, both of *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* in a Government, to take the *Cauſes* of Sin, and *Temptations* to Crimes, out of the People's Way; we cannot but humbly hope, that in due Time, the *Wiſdom of Parliament* will take this *melancholy Affair* into Conſideration, and by making ſome *Alterations* in the Method of collecting the *Revenue*, remove the *Cauſe* of this Great and Epidemical Corruption!

CHAP. II.

LUXURY, *the ſecond Cauſe of* Poverty, *&c. A Deſcription of* Luxury. *Difference between it and* Honourary Diſtinctions, *or* Hoſpitality; *Inſtances of it in ſeveral Degrees of People; the extreme Folly of indulging a* luxurious Appetite: *How it leads to* Corruption, *and deſtroys* Charity *and* Hoſpitable Living.

THE *great Luxury* of the preſent Age, which extends itſelf to, and corrupts, all Ranks and Degrees of People, is the *ſecond* grand Cauſe of the late Increaſe and Miſeries of the *Poor of* England.——By *Luxuries*, I think, are to be underſtood, all thoſe Superfluities in our *Houſes*, *Dreſs*, *Tables*, *Diverſions*, *Entertainments*, *Equipages*, and in general, in all the *Uſes* of Life, which do not make any way for the Honour, Dignity, Happineſs, or Convenience of *Thoſe* who uſe them, or of the *Publick*; and all Things which are above a Perſon's *Abilities*.

From this Deſcription of *Luxury*, 'tis plain, that nothing ought to be accounted *Luxurious*, which is proper to diſtinguiſh between the different Orders and Degrees of Perſons in the Common-wealth. For, as it is not only a *Debt* which every Community owes to Men of eminent *Publick Virtues*, to

reward

reward them for their Services with *Titles* and *Badges of Honour*, but even *neceſſary* to preſerve due Subordination in the Commonwealth itſelf, that Perſons ſhould be properly diſtinguiſhed according to their *Quality* and *Eſtate*, *Honourary Diſtinctions* being, as it were, Types and Emblems of *Virtue* and *true Honour*, and excellently adapted to beget and cheriſh Principles and Sentiments correſponding to them, and alſo to retain the *Vulgar* in a due Senſe of that Duty which they owe their *Superiors*; for theſe Reaſons, ſuch Things as are ſuited to the Dignity and Eſtate of every one, do not come within our Definition of *Luxuries*; becauſe they are the neceſſary Marks of theſe *Honourary Diſtinctions*, and may conſiſt very well with the innocent Enjoyment and good Uſe of *Wealth*.—— Much leſs doth a *plentiful Table*, furniſhed with ſubſtantial *Engliſh Diſhes*, or, in a Word, any thing which is proper for *good Houſe-keeping*, and ſuited to the *Eſtate* of the Owner. For *Hoſpitality* is neceſſary for every *Great Man* to practiſe, who would keep up a good Underſtanding with his *Equals*, and contribute, as he ought to do, to the Support of his *Poor Neighbours*; and is, beſides, one of the propereſt Ways of *doing Good* to Mankind, and of ſhewing a benevolent and generous Diſpoſition.

But alas! inſtead of ſpending what Money they have to ſpare, in Ways that are conſiſtent with Regularity and Order, and make for their Honour, Reputation or Profit; many People, of all Sorts, are got into ſuch *poor*, *low Methods* of running out of their *Eſtates*, as well as ſquandering away the *Incomes* of them, as are, for the moſt part, void of *Virtue*, *Generoſity*, *Publick Spirit*, or any thing that is even *creditable*, or *worthy* Men; and which ſhews Minds ſet on nothing elſe but *Oſtentation*, *Pleaſure*, and *Vanity*.

In the *firſt Inſtance*; Many of our *Great Men*, inſtead of maintaining their *true Honour* and *Dignity*, and aiming to fix in the Minds of their *Inferiors* a Love, Reſpect and Value for them; which a *Great Man* never fails of doing, when he makes a *wiſe*, *hoſpitable*, and *charitable* Diſtribution of the ſuperfluous Income of his large Eſtate; ſquander away all the Money they can get at *Gaming* and *Play-houſes*; on *Miſtreſſes*; *Tables* filled with *effeminate Dainties*; *Fine coſtly Levees*, and going from one to another; *Numerous Servants*, who create more Trouble to their *Maſters* and *Miſtreſſes*, than they do 'em Service; *Coſtly Liveries*; *Powdered Footmen*, and the like *Extravoganties*: Nay, which is worſe, more ridiculous and diſhonourable than all Theſe, *Italian Singers*, and *Foreign* Servants, Faſhions and Ways of Entertainment, carry away their *Money*, and at once *impoveriſh* and *corrupt* England.

From

From our *Great Ones*, Luxury deſcends like a devouring Torrent on our *Middling People*: Of whom, how many have we ſeen *ruin* themſelves and Families, by building *fine Houſes*, keeping their *Coaches* and *Livery-Men*, making *grand Entertainments*, buying *rich Cloaths* and *Furniture*, and a thouſand ſuch Ways of ſpending their Subſtance, which People find out, when once they ſet their Hearts on what is either unfit for their *Uſe*, or above their *Fortunes*.

Nor doth *Luxury* ſtop with theſe; but condeſcends to viſit the Houſes of our meaneſt *Farmers* and *Tradeſmen*; nay, ſometimes it humbly enters the *lowly Cottages* of our *Poor* themſelves. Whom we have frequently ſeen *Treating* and *ſpending* above their *Abilities*; their Wives and Daughters flaunting it in their *Silks*, *Sattins*, and the like *Fineries*, at the ſame time that, perhaps, they are not worth a *Penny* in the World, and it may be, run in Debt for theſe Implements of *Vanity*; on account of which, all frugal and conſiderate People deſpiſe and laugh at them, and are the leſs diſpoſed to pity or aſſiſt them, when overtaken by thoſe *Misfortunes*, which are the ſure Conſequences of their *extreme Folly*.

I cannot help obſerving, on the two laſt Sorts of our *Luxrioſi*, that ſome *Pomp* and *Apparatus*, which are both vain and fooliſh, and well deſerve the Title of *Luxury*, in People of *inferior Rank*, not only loſe that Name, when practiſed by Perſons of *Quality* and *Eſtate*, but are conſonant to *Virtue*, and *meritorious*. This comes from the different Circumſtances of thoſe who uſe them; for, a *Rich Perſon* ought to be allowed to ſpend according to his Income, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf according to his Rank and Dignity, by a ſuitable *Sumptuoſity*, and becoming *Grandeur* and *Decorum*: But when *Mean People* will mimick their *Betters* in every Thing, which is too commonly practiſed among us, inſtead of being for their Credit or Advantage, it brings on their Diſcredit and Ruin.——For which Reaſons, in our poor Opinion, it would make greatly for the Benefit of our *Meaner People*, and for the Honour and Diſtinction of *Perſons of Quality*, and likewiſe be no ſmall Incitement to *Virtue* and *Induſtry*, if *Laws* were made and duly executed, to regulate the *Equipages*, *Servants*, *Liveries*, *Entertainments*, *Apparel*, &c. of all People, according to their *Quality*, *Offite*, or *apparent Subſtance*.

From what hath been ſaid, it appears, that the *Sin of Luxury* conſiſts chiefly in an immoderate Love of ſuch Things, as do not make either for the *true Honour* or *Happineſs* of Man, but are meer Outſide Shew, Faſhion or Cuſtom; and therefore, has its Principle in *Folly*, *Baſeneſs* and *Corruption* of Soul: Surely then, no *Honeſt* or *Wiſe* Man will ever ſet his Heart on

Objects

Objects which are mere *Vanity* and Oſtentation; which are purchaſed and maintained at a great Expence of what would as well procure the Neceſſaries of *ſolid Felicity*, both preſent and future; and which bring nothing *ſolid* or *good*, in Return! So that *Luxury* is a ſure Token of a Mind already ſoftened and moulded to *corrupt* and *wicked Practices*, and the certain Fore-runner of *Indigence*, that often forces Men to *commit Iniquity*. And hence it is, we ſee ſo many People of all Degrees, who having fooled away their *ſolid Subſtance* to gratify their *vain Inclinations*, ſell their *Religion* and *Country*, and ſtick at no Methods, *juſt* or *unjuſt*, which lead to the gratifying a *luxurious Appetite*.

Among theſe Inſtances of *Luxury*, the Uſe of *Foreign Commodities*, meerly for the ſake of their *Brillianture*, *Shew* or *Deliciouſneſs*, when Things of *our own Produce* or *Manufacture* anſwer as well all the Neceſſaries, Conveniencies, and good Intents of Living; deſerves to be taken particular Notice of, as being of a more pernicious Tendency than the reſt. For, beſides draining the Pockets of thoſe who uſe them, and feeding the vicious Humours of a *luxurious Spirit*, Theſe decreaſe the Conſumption of *our own* Commodities, carry immenſe Sums of Money out of the Nation to purchaſe them, and therein hurt our *Farmers*, *Manufacturers*, and the whole *Nation* in general. The pernicious Conſequences of which *continual Drainings* will be more and more felt, by cauſing a *Scarcity of Money*, if we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to ſee *other Nations* learn our *Manufactures*, and get into the moſt valuable Branches of our *Trade*.

To conclude therefore; I think, it plainly appears from what hath been ſaid, That the *Luxury of the preſent Age* hath been highly deſtructive of that *Charity* and *Hoſpitality*, whereon great Numbers of *Poor People* uſed formerly to be ſubſiſted; hath brought infinite Numbers of Families to *Poverty*; propagates *Indigence*, *Corruption* and *Oppreſſion* among all Sorts of People; diſcourages our own *Manufactures*, and carries *great Sums of Money* out of the Nation, to encourage *Italian Comedians*, hire *foreign Servants*, and purchaſe the unneceſſary *Productions* and *Manufactures* of other Countries. On all which Accounts, it deſerves the Title of, *The ſecond great Cauſe of the Increaſe and Miſeries of the Poor of* England.

CHAP. III.

Great Men's *leaving their Country Eſtates, another Cauſe of the People's* Poverty, *&c. The* Good *a Gentleman does by living in his Country; the* Evil *that follows his Abſence: The ill Policy of ſuffering ſo many Noblemen and Gentlemen to Travel into* Popiſh *and* Arbitrary *Countries.*

WHEN Love of *Pleaſure* and *Outſide Shew*, hath once got the Victory in People's Minds, over *Virtue* and *Publick Spirit*, it tempts them to ſeek all Means to gratify This *vain*, *empty* and *vicious Amour*. And becauſe the Food of a *luxurious Appetite* is not ſo eaſily found in the Retirement of a Country Life, when Gentlemen live on their *Country Eſtates*, as in Places of *Publick Reſort*, where are frequent Entertainments of Pleaſure, which ſerve to lull aſleep effeminate Souls, and to divert them from the Purſuit of *Virtue*, and of Objects which are truly Noble and worthy a *Rational Being*; This makes many Perſons of Eſtate leave their antient Country Seats, and live in Places that are better ſuited to the Gaiety of luxurious Inclinations. By doing ſo, a *Great Man* robs his Country Neighbours and Dependents of *Three Things*, which are of the greateſt Value to them, and which he can never reſtore, except by returning and living amongſt them again, *viz.* His *Preſence*, *Patronage*, and the *Money* ariſing from the *Rent of his Eſtate*.

The *Preſence* of a Gentleman of Eſtate and Intereſt in his Country, is certainly one of the greateſt Bleſſings any *Neighbourhood* can have, if he be a Perſon of *Integrity*, and a Lover of *Virtue* and *good Order*; for, ſuch a Gentleman will do all he can, both by his Example, and by putting our good Laws in Force, to eſtabliſh and encourage all Kinds of *Virtue*, and to diſcountenance their contrary *Vices*. There is, beſides, another Thing wherein ſome Gentlemen of eminent *Wiſdom* and *Integrity*, ſhew their *Preſence* to be of ineſtimable Value and Uſe to their Neighbourhoods; that is, when they employ themſelves to incline thoſe about them to a pacifick Diſpoſition towards each other, reconciling Differences, and putting an End to troubleſome and expenſive *Law-Suits*, by being choſen *Arbitrators* by both Parties, on account of their *excellent Character*, and deciding with *impartial Juſtice*.——It were

to

to be wiſh'd indeed, conſidering the ſhameful Expence and Delays in our *Courts of Juſtice*, that *Contending Parties* would more frequently chuſe this Way to put an End to their Diſputes; and that Country Gentlemen would generally fit themſelves for This, both *Uſeful* and *Honourable* Employment, and take care to promote it effectually, by always attending to the *Merits* of the Cauſe before them, and making from thence a *juſt Deciſion*: I ſay this, becauſe there have been Inſtances of *Arbitrators*, who have ſeemed to lay aſide this *Great Thing neceſſary* to a *Righteous Judgment*, and only aimed to patch up a Peace between Parties, by obliging *both* to recede from their Pretenſions, and meet in the *Middle*; which Way of making *Peace*, at the Expence of *Juſtice*, does, in its natural Effect, prejudice Mankind againſt it, and tend to bring *Private Arbitrations* into Contempt.

His *Patronage* is the ſecond Thing which the Non-Reſidence of a Country Gentleman robs his Neighbourhood of: By which, I mean, Protection and Aſſiſtance of his *Poor* and *Honeſt Neighbours*, againſt the Encroachments and Oppreſſions of a ſort of *little Knaves* and *Petty Plunderers* of the Publick, whom few Pariſhes are ſo happy as to be wholly free from. I cannot help being humbly of Opinion, that no *Country Gentleman* does his Duty towards his *inferior Neighbours*, who doth not *Patronize* them in this Manner; and I believe, there are few Places in *England*, but do very ſenſibly feel either the *good* Effects of the Performance, or the *bad* ones of the Neglect of this Duty. Nay, it is moſt commonly the Non-Reſidence, or the ill-placed Confidence and Favours of our *Great Men*, that occaſion theſe Oppreſſions; for their *Diſtance*, or *Indolence*, paves the Way for a *Steward*, or ſome ſuch *ſuperior Servant*, to engroſs his *Maſter*'s whole Attention, and to make him believe Miſrepreſentations and Falſhoods of his *unhappy Tenants* and *Neighbours*: Farther, There have been Inſtances of *ſome*, who have found Means to exclude their Addreſſes from their *Maſters*, and to ſhut up their *Eyes* and *Ears* againſt the plaineſt Conviction, when the *Neighbours* or *Tenants* of *Great Men*, have honeſtly thought it their *Duty*, or been forced by intolerable *Oppreſſions*, to lay their Servants *Knavery*, and their own *Grievances*, before them.

Thirdly, The Non-Reſidence of a Great Man, deprives his Neighbourhood of the *Circulation of the Money ariſing from the Rent of his Eſtates among them.*——It is indeed *lawful*, but it is hardly *juſt*, for a Gentleman, when his Grandeur and all his *Riches* ariſe from one Country, to go away, and live, and ſpend them in another. When a Perſon is born

to, or acquires, an Eſtate in a Place, he ought to look upon himſelf as put there by *Providence* to Dwell, and do all the Good he can, conſiſtent with the Duty he owes his private Family, among that particular Neighbourhood. This is a Duty which *Natural Reaſon* ſuppoſes, and GOD requires of every Perſon whom He hath bleſſed with a plentiful Fortune; for, to forſake his own Country for the ſake of indulging himſelf in *Pleaſures*, Rioting in *Luxury*, or ſaving the more *Money*, is ungrateful, and unworthy a Man of Honour and a Gentleman, whoſe Great Principle ought to be, the *Good of Mankind*; which is the Nobleſt of all Objects, and the conſtant Purſuit of Virtuous Inclinations.

When a *Great Man* diſregards this *Duty*, racks his *Tenants*, and carries away all the Money he can amaſs together twice a Year, the neceſſary and obvious Conſequence to his *Natural Neighbours*, is Poverty, for want of the Circulation of their due Share of Money.——There is not a more natural and intelligible Inſtance to illuſtrate the great Damage a Neighbourhood ſuſtains, by being left in this Manner by its Gentry, than to ſuppoſe a *Prince*, who ſhould take a humourous Fancy to a *Foreign Country*, and leave his own Dominions to go, reſide, and keep his Court there: As This would certainly tend to impoveriſh his own People, and be very prejudicial to Trade and Manufacture, for want of ſerving the Neceſſaries of his Court, and of that Money which is carried away, and ought to circulate at Home; ſo, when *Gentlemen* leave their proper Countries, and ſpend the Income of their Eſtates at diſtant Places of Publick Reſort, the Money carried away is very ſenſibly miſſed by their Neighbourhood; nay, their own Eſtates feel it in Time, becauſe it helps to diſable their *Tenants* from improving them.

Beſides This, there is another Sort of *Abſenteeſhip*, more hurtful to this Nation than that juſt mentioned; I mean, That of Noblemen and Gentlemen who Travel *beyond the Seas*. For, the Money ſpent in this Way, never returns to *England* in any Manner whatever, except it be in the Affection which ſome contract for *Foreign Countries*, and *Strangers*, and in the *Religion*, *Learning*, *Politicks*, *Cuſtoms* and *Faſhions* of other Nations, which they frequently bring Home with them. Which, conſidering that we are a *Proteſtant* and a *Free People*, and thoſe Countries where our *Travellers for Pleaſure* for the moſt part go, *Popiſh* and *Enſlaved*, may, ſome time or other, be of very pernicious Conſequence to our *Religion*, and our *Liberty*. *Almighty GOD*, in order to preſerve the Religion and Liberty of his own People, the *Children of Iſrael*, ſtrictly forbad them to have any Communion with

with the *Idolatrous Nations* round about them: * *For* (ſays He) *they will turn away thy Soul from following Me, that they may ſerve other Gods.* This Nation is in pretty much the ſame Circumſtances, as to her *Religious* and *Civil Conſtitutions*, in regard to her Neighbours, as the *Iſraelites* were: It is as dangerous to Her to have her *People*, and eſpecially her *Great Men*, corrupted with the Love of their *Religion*, *Politicks*, *Morals*, *Cuſtoms*, or *Faſhions*; as her *Conſtitutions* in Church and State, and her *Laws*, are more excellent than Theirs. On all which Accounts, I cannot but think it would be for our *National Benefit*, if Thoſe who do not Travel on account of *Trade*, were layed under greater Reſtraints from going out of theſe Kingdoms.

* Deut. 7. 4.

CHAP. IV.

Corruption *at Elections, the Fourth Cauſe of* Poverty, *&c. The* Mutual Duties *between Country Gentlemen and Electors; the* Dependency, *and* Independency, *of our Government explained; a Diſtinction between the* External *and* Internal *Duties of a Government; that Theſe can be diſcharged better by our* Mix'd, *than by any* Simple Form *of Government; our Conſtitution a* Bleſſing, *or a* Curſe, *as* Well, *or* Ill, *uſed*; Unequal Repreſentation *of the People, a Cauſe of its* Abuſe; *the* Vices *and* Poverty *that naturally follow.*

IT would not be juſt to blame *Gentlemen* for abſenting themſelves from their *Country Eſtates*, and conceal what has certainly made, not a *few* of them, do it, (viz.) Reſentment of the Injury done their *Natural Rights*, by the *Fourth Cauſe* we have mentioned of the Increaſe and Miſeries of the *Poor of England*; that is, *Corruption and Debauchery at the Elections of Members of Parliament.*

For, a Country Gentleman has as much Reaſon to expect, that a Neighbouring Borough ſhould chuſe *Him*, or ſome other Honeſt, Independent *Neighbouring Gentleman* of Eſtate, to Repreſent them in Parliament; as his Neighbourhood have, that He ſhould live, encourage Virtue and Order, Protect, and ſpend the Income of his Eſtate among them.——*Theſe* are, in *England*, *Reciprocal Duties*; which the Not obſerving on the one Side, gives too much Occaſion for the like Violation

lation on the other.——Only, I cannot but obſerve here, That when a *Gentleman* forſakes his Country thro' Chagrin on this Account, his *innocent Neighbours*, and the *Poor* in particular, who are as much intereſted as *Himſelf* in his Succeſs, and have as great Regret at his Diſappointment, ſuffer more from his *Abſence*, than the *Corrupt Electors*, whoſe *Loſs* is compenſated with *Bribes*. Which *lamentable Conſideration* we therefore humbly take the Liberty to recommend to the ſerious Thoughts of Diſappointed *Country Candidates*; but ſtill more cloſely to the calm Reflections, and Conſciences, of *Bribed Electors*; if Thoſe who make it their Practice to Sell *Themſelves*, and with Themſelves, their GOD, *King*, *Country*, and their own *Children*, for *Gain*, can have any ſuch thing as *ſober Thoughts*, or *Remorſe of Conſcience* left!

As *Bribery*, or any *Corrupt Practices*, at Elections, do greatly tend to the *Impoveriſhment* and *Miſery* of our Country; we ſhall therefore, *firſt*, briefly ſhew the Wiſdom and Excellency of our *Antient Conſtitution*, when it is kept in its *Natural Purity*, and its Principles are duly followed; and particularly, how admirably it is adapted to beget and preſerve *Mutual Love and Union* among the different Members of the Common-wealth, and even to force *Gentlemen* to live, and practiſe Hoſpitality and Charity, in their reſpective Countries: Whence the great *Folly* and *monſtrous Wickedneſs* of obtaining a Seat in *Parliament* by any *Corrupt Practices*, which are the direct and only Way to deſtroy ſo *Wiſe* and *excellent a Conſtitution*, will appear in the fuller Light.

The *Supreme Legiſlative Power* of *Great-Britain*, is eſtabliſhed in the *Three diſtinct Orders* of KING, LORDS and COMMONS, who have a joint Power over One, and the ſame, *Great*, *Indiviſible Property*; which, it is not only the Duty, but the Glory and Intereſt of each *Order*, to do all it can to make Happy, Rich and Flouriſhing.——Thus, the *Mutual Dependency* of the Three diſtinct *Orders*, or *Powers*, of which our Conſtitution is compoſed, ariſes from *a Neceſſity of Mutual Agreement*, *founded on Mutual Intereſts*. And theſe *Intereſts* conſtitute the One, Common, *National Intereſt*; for the ſake of the better obtaining which, we ſee the *Three* agreeing and united in *One Government*.

This *Common National Intereſt*, is the moſt Glorious End, the moſt Worthy Object, of *Mutual Unity and Agreement*. It eſtabliſhes our Conſtitution on the ſolid Foundations of *Publick Virtue*; and, was it ſolely truſted and adhered to, would unite our *Legiſlature* within itſelf, and the *People* to it, in an indiſſoluble Bond of *Mutual Love*. For every Man, I mean, every Honeſt and Reaſonable Man, eaſily perceives when

when the *Common Intereſt* is purſued, and is glad, for his *own ſake*, to join in it. By this, none is oppreſſed or defrauded, but every one goes on in Tranquility and Pleaſure, ſecure, and content to reap his Part of the *Common Benefit*, obtained by the *Common Labours*, and ſecured by an *equal Diſtribution of Power*. This ſhews how much ſtronger and more durable the *Conſtitutional Dependency* of our Legiſlature is, which is eſtabliſhed in *Mutual Love*, founded on *Mutual Intereſts*, than a *Slaviſh Union*, obtained by a Diſtribution of *Places*, *Penſions*, *Promiſes*, *Gratuities*, to Bribe the *Members* of the *Senate* to Conſent, againſt their *Duty*, *Conſciences*, and the *Publick Good*; which, wherever it comes to be the general Practice, brings the *People* under the hard Dilemma, either to riſe up in Defence of their own *Liberties*, againſt their *Corrupting* and *Corrupted Governours*, or to ſit down under a *Slavery*, much more grievous and intolerable than that of an *Abſolute Monarchy*. It ſhews likewiſe, that no *Wiſe* Prince, Senate, People or Miniſter, will ever aim to deſtroy this *Equilibrium of Power*; becauſe the *Three Orders* joined together by the Conſtitutional Dependency, can much more effectually procure the *Common Intereſt*, than it could poſſibly be procured, was the whole *Legiſlative Power*, by Violence or private Corruption, Monopolized into the Hands of any *One*.

It is the *Common Intereſt* of the Three Orders, that the Nation ſhould be *Well-governed*; at the ſame time that it is their *Great Duty* to *Govern Her well*: So that the *Duty* and *Intereſt* of our Government are one and the ſame, and come reciprocally in Aid, *One*, of the *Other*.

The Duties of the *Civil Power* towards the *Body Politick*, of which it is the Head, like the Duties of a Man towards his *Natural Body*, are of *Two Sorts*.——*1ſt*, To give it wholſome *inward* Nouriſhment; which is neceſſary to make it Healthy, Robuſt and Vigorous.——*2dly*, To preſerve and defend it againſt all *outward*, or *Foreign Enemies*, who may aim to hurt or deſtroy it. Of which, to take Names from their different Effects, the *former* may be called the *Internal*, and the *latter*, the *External Duties* of a Government.

The *Internal Duties* of a Government conſiſt in the Eſtabliſhment of *Order*, the making *Good Laws*, the *due Execution* of them, and, in few Words, in cauſing the different Members of the Community to live in *Love*, *Unity*, and *Happineſs*, one with the other.

The *External Duties* conſiſt in advancing *Trade* and *Commerce*, making *Treaties* and *Alliances*, maintaining *War*, and the like.

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As to the Performance of the *Two* firſt mentioned of the *Internal Duties*, the Eſtabliſhing of *Order*, and making of *Good Laws*, our mix'd Government doth certainly make a better Proviſion for That, than any Simple Government whatever can reaſonably be ſuppoſed to do. For, to the end *Wiſe Order* and *Good Laws* ſhould be eſtabliſhed, there is need not only of knowing what is Wiſe and Good in itſelf, but the Spirit and Diſpoſition of the People to receive them: GOD Himſelf was forced to give the *Iſraelites*, *Statutes that were not* (abſolutely ſpeaking) *Good*, by reaſon of the *Hardneſs of their Hearts*; and all good Law-givers muſt, in Imitation of Him, conſider the *Capacity of the People* to receive Orders and Laws, before they appoint them. In which Caſe, I believe it will be granted by every one, that no *Simple Kingly* Government, where the Dominions are of large Extent, has equal Advantages with an *Ariſtocratical*, and eſpecially a *Democratical* one, whoſe Members live in every Part of the Country, and are choſen to Repreſent in *One Senate*, all the different Parts of it; and that when our Conſtitution is kept in its *Natural Purity*, our *King* hath in theſe Reſpects, many very great and happy Advantages over his *Deſpotick Neighbours*, in having his *Nobles* and the *Repreſentatives* of his *whole People*, conſtituting his *Great Council*, and acting in *Concert* with Him.

The *Third* Duty, *viz.* The *Execution of the Laws*, is veſted in the *King*. But then, as He is but One, He muſt Delegate his *Executive Power* on Judges, and inferior Magiſtrates and Officers, who may neglect or abuſe it. In which Caſe the *People*, who are always the *Sufferers*, have their *Repreſentatives* in Parliament, conſtituting the Third Part of the Legiſlature; whoſe *higheſt Duty* it is, and whoſe *firſt Care* ought to be, to obtain the *Redreſs* of all their *Grievances*.

As to that general Duty of a Government, to cauſe the Community to live in *Mutual Love*, *Unity* and *Happineſs*; I will venture to maintain, that, notwithſtanding thoſe ſtrong contrary Prejudices, which have been raiſed within little more than a Century paſt, by the Arbitrary Steps of ſome of our *Princes*, the Corrupt Practices of *Miniſters*, the Extravagancies of a *Party Spirit*, and the Animoſities cauſed by our *Religious Diviſions*; *Human Wiſdom* cannot contrive any thing better adapted to produce thoſe *Bleſſings*, than our *Conſtitution* is, when its Principles are kept to. For,

In the *firſt Place*, by mixing *Monarchy* with an *Ariſtocracy* and a *Democracy*, we have all the Advantages ariſing from the Government of *One*, which, unqueſtionably, are very many and great, when ſuitable *Virtues* do adorn the *Royal Perſon*; and by mixing the *Two laſt* with *Monarchy*, we enjoy as great and

and as happy Advantages, arising from the Wisdom and Experience of the Greatest and Best Men in the Kingdom, selected from all Parts, for the sake of their *High Quality*, and *Excellent Character*; who are always ready to inform and advise our *King*, and to act in concert with Him. Whenever a *King of Great-Britain* sets his Heart, as every *Good Prince* does, on obtaining his *People's Happiness*; He hath the happy Advantage of having a faithful and numerous *Senate* to advise with, to improve his *Princely Resolutions*, and to assist Him to make them effectual: On the other hand, whenever his *Parliament* discovers any *Grievances* that ought to be redressed, or any *Laws* or *Measures* to promote the same *great End*; by his ready and chearful Consent, and vigorous putting them in Execution, He shews that his Heart is *One* with his People's, and *unites* their Hearts to Him, by a Bond of *Mutual Love*, which nothing can untie.——Thus happily does our *Constitution* unite the Head, and the Members of the *Common-wealth*!

But *2dly*; It is excellently adapted to unite the *Members*, even the *Rich* and *Poor*, one with another. For, it is one of the plainest Principles of our Constitution, That *Elections of Members of the House of Commons, ought to be frequent*; else They gradually cease to be the *Representatives of the People*: Another, as plain a Principle of our Constitution, is, That the *Representatives of the People* ought not to be *Dependent on the Crown*, by *Places*, *Pensions*, *Gratuities*, or the like; because it is not fit that Men should give away the *Publick Money* with one Hand, and receive Part of it into their *Private Pockets* with the other: These are the *Two Hinges* whereon *British Liberty* hangs. And when these *Two Principles* are duly adhered to, our Constitution affords admirable Opportunity for the Performance of reciprocal *Good Turns* and *Servites* between Subject and Subject, Rich and Poor: For the poorest Elector, by giving his Vote for a Neighbouring Gentleman of *good Character* and *Estate*, vests the highest Trust in him, and lays the highest Obligation possible, not only on him, but on all his Neighbouring Gentlemen, who are in the *Interest of their Country*, and whom he ought to oblige by Turns in the same Way. And the Gentleman, by *worthily Representing* them in Parliament, lays as great an Obligation on his Electors.——Thus does our Constitution tend to establish *Mutual Love* between the *Highest* and the *Lowest* of the Community, and to force Gentlemen to live on their *Country Estates*, and to do all they can, by Acts of *Justice*, *Hospitality* and *Charity to the Poor*, to establish a *Natural Interest*!

As to the Performance of the *External Duties* of a Government, ſuch as, promoting *Commerce*, making *Treaties*, *War*, and the like; Theſe are likewiſe much better provided for by our *Mix'd Conſtitution*, than by any *Simple Form* of Government on Earth. It ſecures his *Property* to the *Subject*, which under Deſpotick Princes is always precarious and in Danger; and thereby nurſes up the *Spirit of Trade*, and encourages a People to extend it to the moſt diſtant Regions.—— The *Regal Power* gives our Government all the neceſſary Advantages of *Secrecy*, in tranſacting Affairs with *Foreign Courts*; whilſt the juſt Dread of *Parliamentary* Examinations, one would think, ſhould be ſufficient Reſtraint on a *Miniſtry* from laying Blinds before their *Sovereign's* Eyes, or entering into Engagements that are inconſiſtent with the *National Intereſt*.——And *laſtly*; The *Ariſtocratical* and *Democratical* Parts, which unite the *Nobles*, and the whole *Collective Body* of the *People*, to the *Sovereign*; in Time of War, are a Source of Strength, and Supply both of *Men* and *Money*, which *Arbitrary Princes* are entire Strangers to, and render a *King of England* much more formidable to *Foreign Enemies*, than He could be otherwiſe; the happy Effects of which were very gloriouſly ſeen, in our many *Victories* during the late War.

From this brief Pourtraiture of our Antient and Excellent *Conſtitution*, it appears, that there is layed in it, a moſt wiſe and happy Principle and Proviſion for *Unity*, and *Mutual Love and Happineſs* between Prince and People, Subject and Subject; and, what comes cloſer to our Point, for the Practice of *Charity* and *Hoſpitality* of the *Rich* towards the *Poor*; for, nothing but living in their *reſpective Countries*, and the Practice of thoſe *Virtues*, can eſtabliſh or ſupport a *Natural Intereſt*. *Corrupt Practices* at Elections, do therefore well deſerve to be reckoned among the principal Cauſes of the Increaſe and Miſeries of the *Poor of England*, becauſe, by their means, the natural Intereſt of *Country Gentlemen* is ſupplanted by *Strangers*, and Men of *corrupt Principles*, ready to ſell their *Votes* for a *Place*, *Penſion* or *Reward*.——As ſuch *Practices* have prevailed but too much in ſome paſt Times, and, notwithſtanding the late excellent *Law* to prevent and puniſh them, may again, in a Country, whoſe great Misfortune it is to have the *beſt of Laws* but *ill executed*; and if this Nation ſhould be ſo unhappy as to have them generally prevail in Her, would not only take away all thoſe *Bleſſings* we have juſt now reckoned up, but certainly turn our *Conſtitution* itſelf (from whence Bleſſings flow, as neceſſarily, as naturally, as *Rivers* from their *Fountains*) into a *Curſe* to the Nation; I preſume

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it will not be thought impertinent to our Subject to ſtop a little, to ſhew the *Cauſes* that may produce ſuch a *lamentable Perverſion* of the *Greateſt Bleſſing* which Providence hath beſtowed upon us, or can beſtow on any People.

The *firſt* Thing that may help to bring this *Curſe* upon our Nation, is a *Defect* in our Conſtitution itſelf, *viz.* That *the largeſt County, that contains the Bulk of the People, has only* Two Repreſentatives *in Parliament*; ſo that it ſometimes happens, that the Majority of a little Borough, that perchance may not conſiſt of more than *Twenty, Thirty, Forty* or *Fifty* indigent Fellows, choſe on purpoſe to ſell their Country, have as much Intereſt in Parliament, as *ſeveral Thouſands* of Freeholders. I call this *a Defect in our Conſtitution*; for it certainly is ſo, tho' not an *Original* one: For * in the Parliament held in the 48th Year of *Henry* III. there were *Four Knights*, Repreſentatives of each *County*. And whatever was the Reaſon, that They were in the Parliament of the ſucceeding Year reduced to *Two*, 'tis certain this ill Effect comes from it, That the People of *England* are very *unequally Repreſented*, and the Bulk of the Nation have not that *Intereſt* in Parliament, which They would in that Caſe, and ought in Reaſon to have.

Secondly, The Decay of *Antient Boroughs*, the People of which are grown *few*, *poor* and *indigent*, is another Cauſe that may probably help to produce the dreaded *Perverſion* of our Conſtitution. This *Evil* certainly ought to have ſome Remedy applied to it, both out of Juſtice to the *Nation*, and for the Encouragement of *Trade*. And the moſt natural Way, and moſt agreeable with the *Spirit* of our Conſtitution, ſeems to be, To remove the Privilege of ſending *Repreſentatives to Parliament*, from our *decayed Boroughs*, to thoſe *Towns* which are now moſt flouriſhing and populous.

The *Third* and *laſt* Thing we ſhall mention, that threatens us with this *Publick Evil*, is, The *Monopoly of Boroughs*, by the corrupt ſecret Practices of *Agents* and *Election-Mongers*; which is effected by gradually excluding the *Freemen* of a Town from their Right of *Voting*, and veſting it wholly in the *Magiſtrates* and *Members of the Corporation*. By this Means, the *common Privileges* of Townſmen are taken away from the *untractable Many*, and veſted in a *Few*, who are more eaſily governed, and managed to betray their Truſt, and ſell their Country.——I know a *Great Trading Town*, whoſe Charter gives a Right of Voting to every *Free Burgeſs*, with Liberty to the *Magiſtracy* to make as many ſuch as they pleaſe;

* Rapin, Vol. I. Book 8.

This Power was *Antiently* made the honeſt and wiſe Uſe of making every *conſiderable Trader*, or *Man of Subſtance* in the Town, a *Free Burgeſs*; 'till within about 30 Years paſt, a *certain Gentleman* (whoſe viſible Aim hath been to make the *Fortunes* of his *Family* by *Court-Favours*) has not only found Means, by hind'ring the Creation of *Free Burgeſſes*, to reduce the whole Number of *Electors* to fewer than *Forty*, Magiſtrates and Council-Men; but even to exclude the *Principal Inhabitants* from amongſt *Theſe*, by filling the *Vacancies* with *indigent Dependents* and *Creatures* of his own; nay, afraid to truſt *ſuch*, He has made no ſmall Progreſs towards carrying the *Corporation* itſelf *out of Town*, by wriggling *Himſelf*, *Relations* and *Confidents* into it, who do not live there. Were it not for the *melancholy Conſequences*, it is diverting enough to ſee the *low*, *pitiful Shifts* which our *Borough-jobbers* are put to, to ſupport Practices, that will in the End involve *Themſelves*, or their *Children*, in one common *Ruin* with their *Country!* I cannot but think ſuch Practices afford Materials, that with the *Licenſer*'s Leave, might make a proper Entertainment on the *Stage*, where their *Wickedneſs* and *Folly* would be expoſed to Advantage. But if ſuch *Management* has prevailed in a Town of conſiderable *Trade* and *Opulence*, what may we not, with Reaſon, apprehend in our *poor*, *little Boroughs?*

Theſe *Three Things* do give Occaſion to ſuch *Corruptions*, as cannot but at preſent very much hinder the *good Deſign* of our Conſtitution, and may, as I have ſaid, if not wiſely prevented, in Time quite pervert it. For, it is owing to theſe Cauſes, that ſo many *Strangers* are choſen into Parliament, inſtead of *Neighbouring Country Gentlemen*. Not that theſe *Few Electors*, were they to follow their own Inclinations, would make Choice of Strangers for that *High Truſt* before their Neighbours; it is repugnant to Reaſon to think they would, and contrary to the univerſal Practice of Mankind, who are ever willing to truſt their *Neighbours*, whom they know, before *Strangers*, with whom they are unacquainted. But, alas! their *Indigence* makes them want *Money*, and their *Fewneſs* makes it practicable to Strangers to buy their *Votes* with *Bribes*; and to effect this the better, there is commonly ſo much *Drunkenneſs*, and the like *Exceſſes*, practiſed at Elections, as debauch the *Morals* of the People, and ſeem contrived, as it were, on purpoſe to make them more *indigent*, and more *corrupt*.

Thus we ſee, that by the Means above-mentioned, a Way is opened, not only to *Bribery*, but to all manner of *Immoralities* at Elections; which tend to the Hurt of the Nation,

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and to the Oppreſſion of the Poor, in almoſt infinite Ways; of which I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning only *Two* or *Three*.

Firſt, 'Tis incredible that *Candidates*, as they are falſely called, and eſpecially *Strangers* too, ſhould ſpend *immenſe Sums* now a-days, to get into a Place of *High Truſt*, for ſerving in which, our Anceſtors payed, and received *Wages*; unleſs it be with a Proſpect of greater *Private Gains* to themſelves. And whence can theſe *Private Gains* ariſe, but from *Publick Taxes* on the Subject? And if Thoſe who vote the *Publick Taxes*, are allowed to put Part of what is raiſed by them into their *own Pockets*, 'tis not likely they will ever trouble their Heads to examine, whether they may be diminiſhed or taken off, or uſe Means towards it. So that a Time may come, when Engliſhmen may ſee *Places*, *Penſions*, and *Taxes* to pay 'em, needleſly heaped upon Them, and ſpreading a general Face of *Poverty* over the Land.

Secondly; *Country Gentlemen*, who ſee their Neighbours Votes *Bribed* away from them, loth to be foiled at their very Doors by the *Enemies* of their Country, are hereby provoked to ſpend great Sums of Money in *Oppoſitions*, which keep 'em *poor*, and diſable them from doing the Good, they would otherwiſe be the Authors of, in their *Neighbourhoods*. For truly, the Money ſpent at *Elections* ſeldom does any Good to the *Poor*, or the *Publick*, nor even to *Thoſe* on whom it is ſpent; becauſe it ſeldom or never equals the *Diſorders*, *Idleneſs* and *Loſs of Time*, it occaſions. Numerous Inſtances of which we ſee in the *extreme Poverty* of thoſe Boroughs, which are moſt notorious for *Corruption*.

And *laſtly*; Theſe *corrupt Practices* have been obſerved to make, of many an *induſtrious Townſman*, a *common Toper*; They have converted many an *honeſt Man* into a *Rogue*, and drawn in Men, once remarkable and eſteemed for their *Parts* and *Probity*, to meddle in ſuch *vile Arts* of Selling, and perſuading others to Sell, their *Religion* and *Country* for a little *preſent Gain*, as is more than enough to entail a Curſe of *Poverty* on themſelves, and their Poſterity.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Stints and Inclosures of Commons, *&c. the Fifth Cause of the Increase of our* Poor. *Why the* Rich *are so forward to Oppress, and so backward to Defend the* Poor; *the best Excuse for them, with a seasonable Reflection; the comfortable Subsistence which* Pasture of Common *affords some Poor People;* Inclosure *of Commons not so beneficial, as by some apprehended. An Instance of the Oppressions of* Traders, *in not paying the* Poor Manufacturer *in Ready Money.*

THE *Fifth* Cause of the great Increase of the Poor of *England*, is, *Depriving many of our* Meaner Sort of People, *of their Privileges of Pasture in Wastes and Commons.*——This hath been done chiefly by *Lords of Mannors*, and *Rich Freeholders*, in one of these two Ways, *Stint*, or *Inclosure.*

The *Privileges of the Poor*, (by which I mean, not only the *Poor*, strictly so called, but also our poorer Sort of *Freeholders*, *Farmers*, and *Manufacturers*) are what few *Rich Men* do care to give themselves the Trouble to look into, much less to defend; because, in the *first* Place, 'tis They who are commonly their *Oppressors*; and *2dly*, because of Those who are honest enough to keep their Hands clean, there are *few* who have such eminent Degrees of *Justice*, *Charity* and *Resolution*, as to stand in the Gap against the *Rich* and *Powerful*, to defend those who are unable to defend themselves; and especially, since *Proceedings* in our *Courts of Law* have become so expensive. Through these *Oppressions*, we see many a Great Man, whose *Ancestors* lived beloved and respected by the *industrious Poor*, who subsisted themselves comfortably by the Help of *Pasturage* on their Wastes, now cursed in the *Agony of Heart*, for taking these *Wastes* to their *own Use.* I heartily wish, these *Curses* may never rest on Them, or their Posterity! But it seems plain, that in many Places, the great Increase of *Poor Rates*, hath drawn back again no small Part of their *Gains.*

At the same time that we say this, I am willing to excuse these *Rich Men*, as far as can be, from the Circumstances of the Times.——The *Publick Taxes*, as we have said already, the *Luxury of the Age*, and *Expensive Elections*, do force, even, the *Great* to Shifts which their *Forefathers* knew nothing

thing of; and almoſt every one is willing, where he can, to turn off the *Burthen* upon another, rather than bear it himſelf. But I cannot help being humbly of Opinion, that there is too much Reaſon to fear, that the *Government* will ſooner, or later, feel itſelf, the Weight of thoſe many *Officers*, *Place-men* and *Penſioners*, with whom the *Publick* is burthened; and our *Great Men*, the *heavy Charges* which They have ſhifted off upon their *Tenants* and *Poor Neighbours!* For, the Glory and Strength of a *Government*, conſiſt in the Riches, Numbers and Good-Will of the *People*; and *Publick Liberty*, in which the *Rich* have as great or greater Intereſt than the *Poorer Sort* of People, cannot be long ſupported, where there is not ſuch a *Diſtribution of Property*, as does enable the *Community* to live comfortably on their honeſt Labour and Induſtry.

A Poor Man's *Cottage* by the Side of a Common, a *Cow* or two, a few *Sheep*, a *Hog*, or two or three *little Horſes*, which he keeps upon it, are as much to Him; as his *Ornamentated Palace*, its *Embelliſhed Front*, and *Stately Turrets*, nay, as his *Thouſands* or *Ten Thouſands* a Year, are to a *Rich Perſon*. On *Them* the *Poor Man* lives, together with his *Labour*, and keeps his Family; perhaps, more Piouſly, Honeſtly and Happily too, than the *Rich Perſon* does, ſurrounded with all his ſtately Implements of Sumptuoſity and Grandeur.——* *Contented Poverty's no Diſmal Thing*,——We are aſſured by One, who once experienced it, tho' now deſervedly honoured and rewarded by the Royal Bounty of our late *Excellent Queen*. But then, to be in this State of *Poor Felicity*, the meer Neceſſaries of Life, *Food* and *Aliment*, are abſolutely required: *Poverty* muſt needs be a *Diſmal Thing*, where Theſe are wanting; tho' truly not ſo *Diſmal*, as *Grandeur* and *Riches* amaſſed together, and ſupported by Oppreſſion and Violence. For, a Poor Man may be in Want, and ſtill retain the ſolid Comforts of an innocent Breaſt; whilſt the Rich Oppreſſor is ever at Leiſure Hours, laſhed and ſtung within Himſelf, with the never-dying Tortures of a guilty Conſcience, ariſing from his Oppreſſions.

The Injury done our *Meaner Sort of People*, when their *Paſture of Common* is taken away, by *Stints* or *Incloſures*, may be ſeen in thoſe Places, where they ſtill retain thoſe *little Privileges*; for there they live a great deal more *Happily*, than in thoſe Pariſhes that afford them no ſuch Dependencies. We there ſee a Poor Man breed up a *Numerous Family*, in an Induſtrious, Handſome Way; whilſt Thoſe who want theſe *Helps*, with only a Child or Two, or a little Sickneſs, throw

* *Duk's* Poem on Poverty.

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themſelves on their Pariſh. Their Caſe puts me in mind of the Saying of the *Cynick Philoſopher* to ALEXANDER *the Great*, when making him a Viſit in his Tub, he intercepted the comfortable Sun-Beams; *Stand* (ſays the Philoſopher) *from betwixt me and the Sun, leſt thou take away what thou can'ſt not give me.* For, in thoſe Places where the Poor are deprived of their *Common Paſturage*, the moſt precious and comfortable Gift of a *Free Country* is taken away, and will never be reſtored again, except *Almighty GOD*, provoked at their *Oppreſſions*, ſhould ſend his *Bleſſing* on the Poor, and his *Curſe* on the Rich; and ſo make the *Penury* they prepare for others, be the Portion of their own *Poſterity!*

At the ſame time that I think myſelf obliged, in this *Enquiry*, to aſſign This, as One of the Cauſes of the *Increaſe and Miſeries of the Poor of this Nation*, becauſe it certainly is ſo; I would not be underſtood to blame the *Incloſures of Commons*, being ſenſible, that as the Land grows more *populous*, it becomes more neceſſary for the Support of its Inhabitants. But *Two Things*, we preſume, every *Good Man* cannot but diſlike; *1ſt*, That the *Poor* are, in ſo many *unincloſed Commons*, excluded by *Stints*, whereby their Antient Privileges are taken away, and given to the *Rich*. *2dly*, That there hath not been a proportionable Part of every *Incloſed Common* left out, and appropriated to the ſole Uſe of the *Poor*, excluſive of the *Rich*; who might then have converted their incloſed Part to what Uſe they pleaſed, and the *Poor* would ſtill have had their full Right preſerved to Them.——Nor, indeed, can we think that the Benefit of *Incloſures* of this Sort is ſo great to the Publick, as ſome apprehend: I have many times obſerved *Commons* of a *finer, ſweeter Herbage*, than the *Incloſed Grounds* about 'em; which is generally taken to be a pretty ſure Sign of their being more beneficial to thoſe who feed them. Indeed, others are over-run with *Buſhes* and *Mole-Hills*, and full of *Marſhy Land*; and therefore ſo much Publick Benefit cannot accrue from them, as would do, if they were better *Manured*: But then, certainly, they may be defriched and drained by the Proprietors, as well, or better, before the *Stint*, or *Incloſure*, as after; if proper *Laws* and *Regulations* were made for that Purpoſe. But the great Thing that begets ſuch a Notion of the publick Benefit of ſuch Incloſures, is, becauſe the *Rich* do certainly feel conſiderable preſent Advantage by it; In the *firſt Place*, in that They hereby get the Privileges of their *Poorer Neighbours* into their own Pockets; And *2dly*, They many times convert to *Arable*, a great deal of *freſh Ground*, that when firſt Ploughed, commonly produces large Crops, and is therefore lett at an

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advanced Rent. But after this firſt Benefit is paſt, it may be queſtioned, if, in many Pariſhes, the Rich were to compute the Expence of *incloſing*, and the Encreaſe of *Poor Rates*, they would find themſelves ſit down ſuch mighty Gainers as they imagine.

To this *Hardſhip* of ſome of our *Landed Gentlemen*, may be added, an Oppreſſion practiſed by *Traders*; which is, paying the poor *Manufacturer* in *Bread*, *Cloth*, &c. inſtead of *Money*. This was intended to be effectually put a Stop to, by the Stat. 1 *Ann*, that makes the Maſter forfeit *double the Value* of what ſhall be due for his Work. But, I believe the following *Relation* will convince our Readers, (if they have not obſerved it themſelves) that this is *one*, among *many* excellent *Laws*, which it is *England*'s great Misfortune, at preſent, to have *Unexecuted*.

One Day, this Year, going into the Houſe of a poor Neighbour, a *Woollen Manufacturer*, I ſaw ſeveral *Loaves*, and ſome Pieces of *Linnen* and *Woollen Cloth*; and taking them for Signs of *Plenty*, began to congratulate the *poor Man* upon it; Ah! Sir, ſaid he, 'tis my *Misfortune* to have theſe; I am forced to take them of my *Maſter*, inſtead of *Money*, for my Work.——I told him, it was his own Fault, for the *Law* lays a *Penalty* on a Maſter who pays in that Way. To which he reply'd, I believe, Sir, you know ſuch a *poor Labourer*, (naming him) a few Years ago, "he was a *Weaver*, and refuſing to "be pay'd in this Way, got a Warrant for his *Maſter*, and forced "him to pay him in *Money*; when he had ſo done, that *Maſter* "would let him have no more *Work*; he went to all the *Maſters* in "his Way round the Country, who refuſed him; nor has he been "able to get any ever ſince, and muſt have *ſtarved*, or come to the "*Pariſh*, if he had not learned to work at *Husbandry*."

CHAP. VI.

Neglect of apprenticing Poor Children, *the ſixth Cauſe of the Miſeries of our* Poor. *The admirable Proviſion of our Law in that Caſe*; *the* good Effects *that would follow the Execution of it*; *the* Inhumanity *of the common Practice of pariſh Officers, in taking no farther Care than to apprentice them*, out of the Pariſh. *Such* Mock-Apprenticeſhips; *the Duty of* Juſtices *to prevent it.*

THE *Sixth* Cauſe of the Encreaſe and Miſeries of our Poor, *viz. Neglect in apprenticing poor Children*, is owing to the Omiſſions of *Juſtices of Peace*, and *Pariſh-Officers*, to whom the Care of putting them out *Apprentices* is left, by the *Statute* of the 43d of *Eliz.* and ſubſequent ones.

By these *Statutes*, the *Children* of such Parents as *are not able to maintain them*, are appointed to be placed out *Apprentices*, by the *Church-Wardens* and *Overseers* of the Poor, who are, by the Law, made Judges of the Disability of *Parents*; and any Person meet to be bound, may be compelled by *one Justice of the Peace*. Every Man of Estate or Ability, or who, by his Profession or Manner of living, must keep such Servants, may be compelled to take these *poor Apprentices*; and if a *Church-warden* makes Oath of his Refusal before *two Justices*, the Person refusing forfeits *ten Pounds*, to be levied for Use of the Poor.——This Power of the *Parish Officers* extends no farther than to Masters within their *Parish*; but the *Justices in Sessions* may oblige any Person within their respective Counties. The *Apprentice* must be above *Seven*, and under *Fifteen*, and may be bound till *Twenty-one*, or *Twenty-four* Years old.

These *Laws* contain a very wise and excellent Scheme for the Breeding up of *poor Children*, in a Way *comfortable* to themselves, *profitable* to their Masters; and consequently, both *useful* and *honourable* to the Nation.

In the *first Place*, they make an admirable Provision for the *Children* themselves, who, if this Method was every where practised in a wise and impartial Manner, would be bred up, under *due Order* and *Government*, to *Industry* and *Labour*; and be thereby taught to gain their Livings, after the Expiration of their Apprenticeships, by honest and laudable Means.

Secondly, This Way would be more *profitable* to Masters, both *Farmers* and *Tradesmen*, than that of *hired Servants* by the Year; because, there would be no *Wages* going out, and they would be sure to keep them a *considerable Time*. Besides, I am apt to think, it would naturally be attended with *two* other good Effects that would be found of great Advantage, both to *Gentlemen*, and *Men of Business*. *1st*, It would be an effectual Means to furnish them with *good yearly Servants*, of the *Scarcity* of whom there is now an almost universal Complaint; which is certainly owing to nothing else but to *poor Childrens* being bred up in such a *vicious* and *licentious* Way, that they can hardly be brought to conform to the *Rules* of a *well-ordered* Family. *2dly*, It would contribute to lower the *Wages* of our yearly Servants, the *Sparings* of which, tho' some few have good Sense enough to lay up for an *After-Provision*; yet the greater Part lay out on the *little Luxuries* in Vogue, that tend to corrupt and keep them poor, and generally bring them to the Parish, after they marry and get Families; whereas, if the Money was saved to their Masters, it would probably be lay'd out in employing more Hands, and better manuring their Estates.

But, alas! instead of keeping to the *good Design* of these *Laws*; ——*First*, great Numbers of *poor Children* who ought to be apprenticed pursuant to them, are not only suffered to live at Home with their Parents and Relations, who are *kept by the Parish*, or ready to become *chargeable*; but, which is infinitely worse, are let alone, without Controul or Fear of Punishment, to spend the precious

Years

Years of *Youth* (which is the only proper Time to make Impreſſions of *Virtue*, and plant the Seeds of *future Happineſs* in Mankind) in *loitering* about the Streets, and contracting vicious Habits; ſuch as *Idleneſs*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Swearing*, *Theft*, *Pilfering*, *Undutifulneſs* to their Parents and Superiors, *&c.*

Secondly, Very many of thoſe who are *apprenticed* by *Pariſhes*, have the Misfortune to have no Care taken of them, to put them into the Hands of Maſters of *good Reputation*, who will, or are able to diſcharge a good Conſcience towards them, by breeding them up in an *honeſt and induſtrious Way*, teaching them ſome *Trade* or *Buſineſs*, whereby to gain a Livelihood hereafter, giving them neceſſary *Food* and *Clothing*, and uſing them with *Humanity*; all which ought to be particularly enquired into, and taken Care of before a *Poor Child* is put into any Man's Hands.——But, on the contrary, a moſt unhappy Practice prevails in moſt Places, to apprentice *poor Children*, no Matter to what *Maſter*, provided he lives *out of the Pariſh*, if the Child ſerves the firſt *forty Days*, we are rid of him for ever. The *Maſter* may be a Tiger in Cruelty; he may *Beat*, *Abuſe*, *Strip-naked*, *Starve*, or do what he will to the poor innocent *Lad*, few People take much Notice, and the *Officers* who put him out, the leaſt of any Body: For, they reſt ſatisfied with the *Merit* of having ſhifted him off to a neighbouring Pariſh, for *three* or *four Pounds*, and the *Duty* they owe to every *poor Child* in the Pariſh, is no farther lay'd to Heart.

The greateſt Part of thoſe who now take *poor Apprentices*, are the moſt *indigent* and *diſhoneſt*; in a Word, the *very Dregs* of the poor of *England*, by whom, it is the Fate of many a poor Child, not only to be *half-ſtarved*, and ſometimes bred up to *no Trade*, but to be forced to *thieve* and *ſteal* for his Maſter, and ſo is brought up for the *Gallows* into the Bargain. I have heard ſome of the moſt worthy Gentlemen in the *Commiſſion of the Peace*, lament this *Abuſe*, and reſolve never to conſent to the apprenticing a Child, till they ſhould be well ſatisfied of the *good Character* and *Abilities* of the Maſter; and much *happier* would it be for many a *poor Child*, and for the *Nation* too, if all *Juſtices* adherd to the ſame *charitable* Reſolution; which is no more than they are by *Duty* and *Conſcience* bound to do! But though ſome *Juſtices* have the *Spirit of our Laws*, and endeavour, honeſtly, and conſcientiouſly, to diſcharge the *Duties* of their Commiſſion; alas! it is our *Country*'s Misfortune, that others want that *Spirit*, and are *negligent*; and thoſe of this latter Character are commonly pick'd and apply'd to, and perhaps an *extraordinary Fee* put into the Hand of a *dictating Clerk*, by thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it is to make the *Law* ſerve for Ends that are contrary to its *Spirit* and *Intention*: Which ſhews, that, conſidering the *great Powers* veſted in them; there is hardly any thing more wanted in *England*, than proper Care to be taken to fill the *Commiſſion of the Peace* with Gentlemen of *Integrity*, *Knowledge of the Law*, and *vigilant*; for theſe only can diſcharge it with Honour to their *Sovereign*, and to the real Benefit of their Country.

I know a *poor old Weaver* in the Pariſh I live in, who ſome time ago took a *poor Apprentice* from another Pariſh; he covenanted, as is uſual, to teach him his *Trade*, to provide and allow him *Meat, Drink, Apparel*, &c. to ſave *harmleſs*, and *indemnify* the Pariſh whence he took him, and to give him *two* good new Suits of *wearing Apparel* at the End of his Apprenticeſhip. This *Maſter* had himſelf been ſeveral Times convicted of *Theft*, and had then actually left off his Trade thro' Weakneſs and old Age, and as ſoon as the Money he had with the Boy was ſpent, threw himſelf and Family, *Apprentice* and all, upon his Pariſh. 'Tis very plain, ſuch a Maſter is *incapable* of performing *any one* of the above-mentioned Covenants; and the obvious Conſequence to the *poor Child* will be, to be taught no *Trade*, to be forced to *skulk* and *ſteal* for his Maſter; and either to run away, or if he ſtays, to be half-ſtarved, and, inſtead of *double Apparel*, to be diſmiſſed at laſt *naked*. And, which adds to the Misfortune, the Pariſh to which he is apprenticed, tho' actually *chargeable*, can't take him from this Mock-Apprenticeſhip, and put him to another Maſter, without putting themſelves to the Expence and Trouble of getting an *Order* from Quarter-Seſſions.

There are, I believe, very few populous trading Pariſhes, but afford Inſtances of the like *Mock-Apprenticeſhips*; I call them by that Name, becauſe they are really ſo; I could myſelf give others; all which, are the certain bad Conſequences of the Neglect of executing the *excellent Laws* above-mentioned, which provide creditable and ſubſtantial Maſters for poor Children; and of the ill Policy of Pariſh Officers, in taking no farther Care, than to ſhift them off to the *next Pariſh* (as they commonly do *Vagrants*) to the *Children*'s and to the *Pariſhe*'s mutual *Hurt*, but ſtill more to the *Nation*'s; which is by this Means filled with great Numbers of idle, half-ſtarven, runagate Youths, who, when they are grown up, are prepared for all thoſe Villainies, of *Murder, Robbery, Shop-lifting, Theft, Pocket-picking*, &c. of which we have ſo many daily Inſtances.

We cannot conclude, without expreſſing our good Wiſhes, that *Juſtices of the Peace* would exert the Power veſted in them, more than they generally do, to put a Stop to a Way of *Apprenticing*, which is, in its Conſequences, ſo *void of Humanity*, hurtful to *Trade*, and both diſhonourable and infinitely pernicious to the *Publick*. And that they would oblige *Pariſh Officers* to put them out to *People of Subſtance* within their own Pariſhes; and in caſe the *Children* were over-proportioned to *Maſters*, that they would look round their reſpective *Counties*, and place them to ſuch as *want*.——By ſuch Acts of *publick Wiſdom* and *Benevolence*, Gentlemen would reflect no little Honour on their *Commiſſion*, gain the *Love* of their Countrymen, and eſtabliſh to themſelves a laſting *Authority* among them.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

How Order *in the State, produces* Virtue *and* Morality *among the People. The Negligence of* Magiſtrates *and* Officers, *in not executing the* Laws, *the Occaſion of* Felonies, Vagabonds, Diſorders *and* Poverty. *That a Spirit of* Virtue *and* Order *is neceſſary to maintain* National Liberty; *and the Danger to our Liberties ariſing from our* Licentiouſneſs, *and from a Multitude of* Revel Laws, *which, unleſs enforced by* regular Order, *never anſwer the good Effect propoſed.*

THAT the Practice of *Virtue* and *Morality*, is abſolutely neceſſary to the Well-Being and *Credit* of *Nations*, *Pariſhes* and *Private Families*, is evident from univerſal Hiſtory, Obſervation and Experience.

That the Eſtabliſhment and Preſervation of *Order*, and the impartial Execution of *Good Laws*, are neceſſary to lead and confine Men to ſuch *Practice*, is equally evident.

For this Reaſon, He that loves Mankind on Principles of *Virtue*, which is the only *Love* that is worthy a *Rational Man*, will make it his principal Care to promote *Order*, and put in *Execution* thoſe *Good Laws* which the Government of his Country hath provided for the Suppreſſion of *Vice*.

Was a *Stranger*, who had never been in our Country, to read over the *Laws of England*, to ſee the many Orders of *Magiſtrates* and *Officers* appointed to execute them, and to know the *Duties*, *Oaths* and *Penalties* each lies under; if at the ſame time he conſidered the near Affinity and admirable Connection that ſubſiſts between the due Obſervance of *Religion*, *Order* and *Virtue*, which is intended to be eſtabliſhed by theſe excellent *Laws* and *Inſtitutions*, and *National Happineſs*, which is their genuine Offſpring; He could hardly help thinking *Britons* ſo *bliſsful*, ſo *Free* a People, as would hardly fail of drawing him over into our Iſland, to partake of her Felicity.

And truly, when ſuch a Spirit of *Publick Virtue* hath been heretofore in thoſe in *Power* and *Offices* among us, as is always neceſſary to *ſecond* the good Intention of our *Legiſlature*, and make the *Laws* produce their intended good Effects, the *Engliſh* have been the happieſt People under Heaven! What Nation hath ever enjoyed greater *Bliſs*, than This did during the long Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*; and whence did all our Happineſs and Glory then ariſe, but from the *Wiſdom* and *due Execution* of her Laws?—Thoſe Laws ſhew the *Virtue* and *Orderly Spirit* of thoſe Times; They ſhew the great Care that was then taken, by the *Reformation of Religion*, the Encouragement given to Men of *Piety* and *Learning*, the Eſtabliſhment of *Order*, the promoting of *Virtue* and *Induſtry*, and by the Methods taken to advance and extend our *Trade*, to pluck up Corruption and Indi-

Indigence by the Roots, and to make us a Virtuous and Happy People *within* ourſelves; from whence *outward* Glory and Power exult, as *Rays of Light*, from a *Globe of Fire*. But, alas! This *Noble Spirit* hath been long ſince ſunk into *Party Rage*; and thoſe Labours which ought to have been employed for the Publick Good, to keep the *Body Politick* ſound and healthy *within* itſelf, have been ſpent in the *Bickerings* of Parties, and in promoting thoſe *Corruptions*, into which our old *Party Spirit* hath at length degenerated, to the infinite Hurt of the Nation.

I have ſaid This by way of Preamble, to what I am going to ſay in the remaining Part of *This*, and the *next Chapter*; hoping it may be of ſome Uſe towards ſtirring up in our Readers, a Spirit of *Publick Virtue*, a Love of *Order* and *Diſcipline*, and an honeſt Zeal to *execute*, and cauſe to be *executed*, the *Good Laws* of our Country. We ſhall now therefore return from this ſhort Digreſſion to reſume the Method of treating our Subject, at firſt propoſed.

There is an excellent Law of the *5th of Eliz.* which Enacts, that all unmarried Perſons above *Fifteen* and under *Thirty* Years old, if they neglect to work, having no viſible Means to maintain themſelves but by Labour, may be warned by *Two Juſtices* to get a *Service* by a certain Day, and on Neglect or Refuſal, may be ſent to the Houſe of Correction, or bound to the next Aſſize or Seſſions: The Neglect of *executing* which *Statute*, as alſo the like Neglects of *executing the Laws* againſt *Rogues*, *Vagabonds*, *Sabbath-Breakers*, *Whores*, *Tipplers*, *Common Swearers*, and other diſorderly People, may be reckoned the *Seventh* Cauſe of the Increaſe and Miſeries of the *Poor of England*.

It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed, that the Execution of this Statute is clogged with one Difficulty, which is the *Getting Services*; there being no Proviſion for That, as there is for the putting out *Poor Apprentices*. The Laws of a *Free Country*, nor indeed of any Country, ought not to be ſo interpreted, as to require any one *to do* what is *out of his Power*, nor to *puniſh* for *omitting* it. At the ſame time, the Wiſdom and good Deſign of this Statute is very apparent, from the *Great Hurt* which ſo many People do, both to themſelves and the Publick, as are ſeen, not only at *this Time*, but have been obſerved, even in the *Quickeſt Times of Trade*, to lie about idle and unemployed (except in *Vice*) in almoſt every Street; and therefore, it would certainly be of the *greateſt Benefit* to execute it, according to its true Intent and Meaning. Which, with Submiſſion to *better Judgments*, we take to be,

Firſt, That *Pariſh-Officers* ſhould, every Year, get Warrants to warn all ſuch *idle People* to Service; which, is conſtantly done, as ſuch People are conſcious of their own *vicious and diſorderly Living*, would carry in it a good deal of Awe, and make them endeavour *themſelves* to avoid ſo publick a Mark of *Shame*.——*2dly*, That thoſe *idle People* ſhall offer themſelves, *each*, to ſeveral *Maſters* or *Miſtreſſes*, to ſerve for a Year, at lawful and reaſonable Wages, and bring Proof of it to the *Juſtices*.——And *3dly*, That the *Pariſh-Officers*

Officers ſhall make what Enquiry they can for *Services* for them; and if a *Service* can be got, and the *idle Perſon* ſhould refuſe to go to it, for *reaſonable Wages*; then to be ſent to the *Houſe of Correction*, &c. ——This, if practiſed in all Pariſhes, would undoubtedly lay *idle People* under ſuch Reſtraints and Dread as would tend greatly to diminiſh their Number; and beſides, would make *young Folks* betake themſelves betimes to the learning ſome *Trade* or *Work*, in order to prevent ſo frequent and publick an Imputation of *Vice*.

The *Non-Execution* of the Laws againſt *Rogues*, &c. is owing to the Negligence of *Juſtices of the Peace*, *Church-Wardens*, *Conſtables*, *Tythingmen*, &c. who are put in Office to execute them; alſo of *Overſeers*, becauſe the Forfeitures and Penalties are for the moſt part given to the *Uſe of the Poor*; and indeed, we may add too a *Spirit of Corruption and Sloth*, that unhappily, and I wiſh, not *Ominouſly*, diffuſes itſelf through all Orders and Degrees of Men. For there are ſome of theſe Laws, particularly that againſt *Rogues* and *Vagabonds*, which it is the Intereſt and Duty of every Private Man to put in Execution.

Were but the ſingle Offices of *Church-wardens* and *Conſtables*, executed as they ought to be, according to the Tenor and true Meaning of their *Oaths*; we ſhould ſoon ſee a very great, and no leſs happy *Reformation of Manners* throughout the Nation, and eſpecially among our *meaner Sort* of People. Regularity and Virtue would take Place of Diſorder and Vice; Decency would be maintained in the *publick Worſhip* of GOD; *Adulterers*, *Inceſtuous Perſons*, *Fornicators*, *Blaſphemers*, *Drunkards*, *Swearers*, *Sabbath-Breakers*, &c. would be brought to due Shame and Puniſhment. *Tipplers* and *Tippling-houſes*, *Gameſters* and *Gaming-houſes*, would be puniſhed and ſuppreſſed. All *idle Perſons*, *Night-walkers*, *Riots* and *Rioters*, *Rogues* and *Vagabonds* would be apprehended and puniſhed. Thus, theſe *two Offices*, according to their *original Deſign*, were wiſely inſtituted, to *nip Vice in its Bud*, by taking away the very *Beginnings* of Sin and Lewdneſs. But, alas! the *Oaths* by which publick Officers are bound to their *Duty*, by the greater Part, are now required, taken, and regarded only as *Matter of Form*; nay, in many Places, was an *honeſt Officer* to attempt to diſcharge his Duty in a conſcientious Way, he would not only get himſelf the Name of an *officious*, *troubleſome Man*, but perhaps meet with moſt Oppoſition from thoſe whoſe Duty it is to encourage and aſſiſt him moſt; For Men who have no better a Notion of a *publick Office*, but according to the *Power* or *Eminence* it places them in, or the *Gains* it brings, think it a tacit Reproach of their own *Pride*, *Corruption* or *Sloth*, when they ſee their *Inferiors* conſcientiouſly active in the Diſcharge of their *Duty*. However, one Thing cannot be enough lamented by every *good Chriſtian* and *Lover of the Publick*, *viz.* that the Neglect of duly executing our excellent *publick Offices*, is the Occaſion of *infinite Perjuries* being added to our other *national Crimes!*

But the greateſt Misfortune of all, is, that thro' Men's diſregarding in this Manner, the *very Eſſence* of their Publick Duties, the

Publick

Publick ſuffer by it; the *Spirit of Virtue*, and of *Liberty* too, is loſt, and the *Morals* of the People grow more and more corrupt! It is great Pity that *thoſe* to whom the Officers mentioned give in their *Preſentments* on Oath, to take them without enquiring, how well their Practice hath agreed with their Duties! It is impoſſible but they muſt, in the preſent *corrupt Age*, be, almoſt every Day, Eye or Ear-witneſſes of *Vices* and *Diſorders*, which it is the Duty of theſe Officers to *preſent*; and, in that Caſe, nothing would be of greater *Benefit* to the Nation, or a ſurer Evidence of a *virtuous, publick Spirit*, than for them to take Notice of them, to object them to the *returning Officer*, to lay before them his *Duty*, and the true Meaning of the *Oath* he takes; which, if conſtantly done in proper Terms, and his *viſible Neglects* lay'd open and forced to be amended, would certainly be attended with the good Effect of making them more careful and juſt in the Diſcharge of their Duty. For, the Deſign of *Under-Officers*, being required to give in their Preſentments to *ſuperior Magiſtrates*, is to keep them to their *Duty*; which excellent Deſign can never be anſwered, unleſs their *Superiors* will give themſelves the Trouble of enquiring a little how ſuch Officers have done their Duty, and do what is proper to keep them to the punctual Diſcharge of it.

We do not ſay this, to reflect on our *Magiſtrates* or *Officers*; no, we ſhould have been glad, had not our Subject led ſo directly to the Mention of the ſacred Names of *publick Duty*, or *Oath*. But as every Man ought to *love his Country*, I am ſure, in this Caſe, no *Engliſhman* can do it, who does not adhere to our antient, wiſe, and happy *Conſtitution*, and whenever it lies in his Way, by ſhewing the *true original Deſign* of any of its eſſential Parts, endeavour to reſtore its primitive Uſe.——There is not inſtituted, perhaps in the whole World, a more *natural, eaſy*, or *wiſer* Method to keep ſuch Order and Regularity in the State, and Influence to *Good-manners* among the People in general, as the regular, the beautiful Syſtem of our *ſubordinate Magiſtrates* and *Officers* in *England*, exhibits to view. But there is a *Spirit of Virtue and Liberty*, always neceſſary to ſet up and maintain *wiſe Inſtitutions* in their proper Life, Vigor and Uſe; which *Spirit* is loſt, in Proportion as a People degenerate into *Corruption*, and thereby render themſelves *unworthy* to enjoy thoſe *national Bleſſings*, which can flow only from an equal Mixture of *Order*, and *Liberty*, one with the other.——All *wiſe* and *virtuous Men* do already ſee and lament the ill Effects of theſe *Neglects* of publick Duty; they are ſorry to ſee their Country over-run with *Rogues, Robbers, Thieves, Vagabonds, Whores, Fellows* that run away for *Baſtards, Fathers* that leave their *Wives* and *Children* upon their *Pariſh, Servants* and *Apprentices* that run away from their *Maſters*, &c. The greateſt part of whom, if the ſole Office of *Conſtable* and its *Subordinates* was duly and honeſtly executed, would be apprehended and puniſhed; and conſequently, the Abuſes and Dangers ariſing to the *Publick* from them, wiſely prevented. I wiſh every *Engliſhman*, even the *Negligent* themſelves, may not, in ſome Time to

come,

come, ſee too much Cauſe to repent of theſe *Neglects*; either, becauſe of the *Epidemical Diſorders* that have enſued thereupon; or, of the *modern Methods* of detecting and puniſhing *Vice*, which have come *into Uſe*, in Proportion as the *old conſtitutional ones* have grown *out of* Date! For,

1*ſt*, The great Number of *penal Laws* which have been made in a *few Reigns* paſt, ought, in our humble Opinion, to give ſome little Alarm to a *Free-People*, if they ſet a juſt Value upon their *Liberties*, and are reſolved to tranſmit them to their *Children*, as they received them from their *Fore-fathers*; for, every new *penal Statute* is an additional Tie which the *executive Power* has over the Subject; and a *Multitude* of ſuch may veſt ſuch extraordinary Powers in the *Crown*, as may enable a *corrupt Miniſtry*, by oppreſſing the People with them, by making uſe of their Terror, at *Elections*, and the like Ways, to extend the Power of the Crown beyond thoſe juſt Limits which *our Conſtitution* preſcribes to it. A Multitude of *penal Laws* are never more dangerous, than where little Care is taken to puniſh the *leſſer Sort of Crimes*, and thereby prevent their growing into *Habits of Sin*, that will be ſure, in Time, to break out into *greater*; there is a *Concomitancy* both of *Virtues* and of *Vices*; and as good Men riſe from one *Virtue* to another, ſo, Criminals ſink from little *Vices*, which they at firſt commit with *Remorſe*, *Secrecy* and *Fear*, into *greater Crimes*; and, in fine, grow ſo emboldened in them, as to bid Defiance to the Laws both of GOD and *Man*. So that, if *leſſer Faults* were more duly and impartially puniſhed, it would both wiſely and mercifully prevent great Numbers from being guilty of *Murder* and *Felony*. The *Duties* of the *civil Government* do, in this Caſe, reſemble thoſe of a *Father*, who ought to be watchful over his *Child* when young, to keep him from falling into *little Sins*; and if he neglects this, and lets him run on without Reſtraint and Correction, is, in a great Meaſure, anſwerable *himſelf*, both to GOD, and in *good Conſcience*, for the *ruinous Courſes* which the *Child* may hereafter fall into.

And 2*dly*, The large *publick Rewards*, given on the Conviction of *Criminals*, which prompt Men to do *publick Service*, not thro' Sentiments of *Duty*, and the Dictates of *virtuous publick Spirit*, but from the infinitely more ſordid Principle of *private Intereſt*, and therefore ſhew the great Decay of *publick Virtue* among us, creates no little Danger even to the *innocent*. For, is it not altogether as probable, that that *corrupt Self-Intereſtedneſs* which we ſo frequently ſee prevails on ſome *Men* to ſell their Country, and with her, their *own* and *Childrens* deareſt Intereſts, for a *Bribe*, will be ſtrong enough in *others* to make them perjure themſelves to accuſe *innocent Perſons*, when they are ſure to get *forty* or *fifty Pounds* for each Convict? A *good Character*, is, indeed, ſome Protection to the *Innocent*; but numberleſs Examples from antient and modern, profane and ſacred *Hiſtory*, ſhew, it is far from being a *ſure Protection*. There are infinite Ways which we ſee *wicked Wretches* take every Day to rack their Malice on the *Innocent*, that are as ſhocking to Nature and

Reaſon, and as diabolical as the *Perjury* of ſuch a Falſe-witneſs would be; and which are practiſed more *openly*, with more *Danger*, and leſs Proſpect of *private Gain*.

CHAP. VIII.

The great Number *of Ale-houſes, and their* Diſorders, *the eighth Cauſe of the Encreaſe and Miſeries of our Poor. How they are abuſed from their* original Deſign; *a Review of the* Laws *made from time to Time againſt them; that both their* Number *and* Irregularities *have, notwithſtanding, incredibly increaſed, to the Ruin of great Numbers of* People, *and the deplorable Corruption of* Youth.

THE *eighth* and laſt Cauſe we ſhall mention of the Encreaſe and Miſeries of the *Poor* of this Nation, is the great Number of *Ale-houſes*, and the unlawful and pernicious *Games* and *Paſtimes* practiſed and encouraged by them. Theſe *corrupt our Youth*, are the Dens and Sheltering-Places of *Rogues* and *diſorderly People*, encourage all Sorts of *Vice* and *Idleneſs*, and thereby complete the *Miſeries* of our poor People; for which Reaſon, it is highly proper to bring up the Rear of this *Enquiry*, with a ſhort Eſſay upon that Subject.

Houſes of *publick Entertainment*, were at firſt ſet up for the Convenience of *Travellers*; to which ſome have added, that of *poor People*, who are not able to provide great Quantities of *Drink* and *Proviſion* at home, that ſo they might have it abroad at reaſonable Rates.——But this laſt Convenience, beſides the Temptations which it hath always occaſioned to *Drunkenneſs*, *Idleneſs*, *&c.* practiſed at *Ale-houſes*, hath been very much leſſened ſince the Exciſe on *Beer* and *Ale*; for a poor Man can brew a Barrel of *good Beer* at home, to refreſh the tired Spirits of himſelf and Family, now and then, for the ſame Money, that but a *few Quarts* will coſt him at an *Ale-houſe*.

However, their Deſign, in theſe Reſpects, was certainly very good; and therefore, were no more *Ale-houſes* allowed but what are neceſſary for theſe Uſes; was ſufficient Care taken that every *Ale-houſe-Keeper* ſhould furniſh his Houſe with good *Lodging*, *Stabling*, *Hay*, *Corn*, and *Meat*, as well as *Drink*, for Travellers, and that none ſhould haunt or frequent them but in theſe *two Ways*; and were they conſtantly ſuppreſſed as faſt as any *unlawful Games* or *idle Paſtimes* were practiſed at, or encouraged by them; inſtead of *Nuſances*, they would be *publick Benefits*, conſiſtent with Virtue and Order, and very allowable in Society. But, as there is always a Sort of People who love to live *lazy* themſelves, and ſuck their Livelihood out of the *Labour* of others, tho' in order to it, they allure them to *Vice*, and thereby ruin their *Minds*, *Health*, *Families* and *Fortunes*; ſo, in

Proceſs

Proceſs of Time, *Ale-houſes* not only encreaſed to an unneceſſary Number, but were uſed to diſorderly Purpoſes, which occaſioned ſeveral Laws to be made to ſuppreſs both their Number and Diſorders.

The firſt Statute was made *Ann* 2. *Hen.* 7. and gives Power to *Two Juſtices* to reject the Selling Ale. Afterwards, *Ann* 5 & 6. *Edw.* 6. another Statute was made, That no Man ſhould keep an *Ale-Houſe* without a *Licenſe*, under the Penalty of 20 *s.* This Statute gave Power to *Two Juſtices* to put down Alehouſes at Diſcretion, and to take Recognizances of *Alehouſe-keepers* not to uſe unlawful Games, or keep Diſorders. The Statute of the 3d *Car.* puts it out of the Power of the *Juſtices* to mitigate the Penalty to leſs than 20 *s.* to the *Uſe of the Poor*, to be levied by Diſtreſs; and if no ſuch can be taken, the *Offender* to be whipped. This Statute adds a farther Puniſhment (viz.) for the 2*d Offence*, Commitment to the Houſe of Correction for *a Month*; and for the 3*d*, not to be enlarged without *Order of Seſſions*.——By the Statute 1 *James*, and alſo of the 4*th* and 21*ſt* of the ſame King, *Alehouſe-keepers* are prohibited to ſuffer People to *ſit Tippling*, under a Penalty of 10 *s.* to the Poor, and are diſabled from keeping an *Alehouſe* within *Three Years* afterwards; and the *Tipplers* forfeit 3 *s.* 4 *d.* each, or muſt ſit in the Stocks *Four Hours*.

One could hardly believe, to read over theſe *excellent Statutes*, that both the *Number*, and *Diſorders*, of Alehouſes, have increaſed ſince; nor is it poſſible, were our Laws *duly executed*, as they are *wiſely made*: And yet, there is nothing more evident, or more generally and juſtly complained of by all *ſober People*, who ſee with Concern the fatal Conſequences to the *Morals*, *Health*, *Reputation* and *Subſtance* of their Countrymen, and eſpecially of the *lower Rank* of People.——By *Theſe* our *Youth* are enticed to *Drink* and *Gaming*, which by Degrees give them Habits of *Vice* and *Idleneſs*, that they ſeldom *free* themſelves from, during the Remainder of their Lives. ——Here the *Married Man* ſpends all the Money he can ſhift for, whilſt his *Family* is ſtarving at Home, or at the Pariſh;— Here the *Journey-man* and *Apprentice* ſit *Toping* together, and jovially diſburſe all the looſe Pence they can pick up; and as in their *Cups* their Maſter's Buſineſs is unthought of, ſo his Admonitions and Threats are diſregarded;----Here the Money is ſpent in worſe than *Beaſtly Debauches*, that would be a promiſing Beginning for many a *young Fellow* in a mean Trade;----Here, when *Trade* is good, and our *Manufacturers* earn a great deal of Money, all the ſuperfluous Pence are thoughtleſly fooled away by the *Toping Father*, that ſhould be wiſely and carefully layed up to ſubſiſt *Him* and his *Family*, and keep 'em above the *Pariſh*, when *Trade is bad*. In a Word, after all the Grand Cauſes of our *Poverty* already enumerated, comes This, which, like a *Whirlpool*, draws in great Numbers to idle, ruinous Courſes, devours their Subſtance, and, as I have ſaid above, completes the *Miſeries* of our Poor People; and therefore ought to excite all *Lovers of the Publick* to put the Laws in Execution, to leſſen their *Numbers*, and ſuppreſs their *Diſorders*.

A

SCHEME

FOR,

I. The Publick Education of CHILDREN.

II. The Eſtabliſhment of ORDER, in Imitation of King *ALFRED.*

III. A Propoſal of raiſing the ANNUAL SUPPLIES, by a TAX,

ON THE

INCOMES and ABILITIES of the Subjects; after the Example of that

Great Miniſter *XIMINES.*

With a Preliminary Diſcourſe on the Neceſſity of a Nation's returning to the FIRST PRINCIPLES of

RELIGION *and* MORALITY.

A Preliminary Diſcourſe,

Shewing the Neceſſity of any Nation's returning to Order, *and to the Firſt Princtples of* Religion, Morality *and* Liberty. *That the late dreadful* Appearances in the Air *ought to awaken us to a Senſe of this Neceſſity; Inſtances of both Forced and Voluntary* Reformations, *from Sacred and Roman Hiſtory; with an Application of them to this Nation.*

A True *Engliſhman* cannot revolve ſoberly in his Mind, the Cauſes of the Increaſe and Miſeries of his *Poor Countrymen*, but he muſt be touched with an hearty Sorrow for their Sufferings; and ſo much the more, becauſe many of thoſe *Sufferings* come from *vicious Habits* contracted, and by Degrees ſtrengthened in their *Souls*; which *Pravity of Mind* is infinitely worſe than *Poverty of Fortune*, or than the ſevereſt *Want* and *Penury*. If any thing therefore is capable to move *Compaſſion*, to excite in our Breaſts that *Love of our Country*, that true *Charity to the Poor*, which as Chriſtians, and as Britons, we ought to practiſe; not only the *poor*, but the *depraved State*, of our Fellow-Chriſtians and Fellow-Subjects, is enough to make a *generous Mind* lay itſelf out every Way to ſeek after Relief for the Diſtreſſed.

That may, perhaps, be thought by many to be our *Duty*, after having, as above, ſhewn the Cauſes of their Increaſe and Miſeries. And indeed, I cannot but think, That, as it would be *inhuman* in a Surgeon to lay open the Wounds of his Patient, without having ſome Medicines to apply to heal them; ſo, a Man that ſhould lay open the Wounds of his Country, without ſhewing at leaſt what would help to cure them, is hardly excuſable, as a *Lover of the Publick*. But then, our Readers cannot but take Notice that we have more than half performed this *Surgeon*'s Work already, by ſhewing pretty largely, as we came along, that the Reſtoring our Antient and Happy *Conſtitution* to its *Natural Purity*, would be the moſt effectual Cure for many of the *Cauſes of Vice and Poverty* mentioned.

We have ſhewn, that were the *People of England* more *equally Repreſented* in Parliament, were our *Repreſentatives frequently* Elected, and were they kept *independent* in their *private Capacity*, uninfluenced by *Places*, *Penſions*, or the Hopes or Expectation of either; *Theſe* would put an End to thoſe *Corruptions*, to that *Debauchery* and *Idleneſs*, which are ſo generally practiſed at *Elections*. This would reſtore our *Abſent Gentry* to their reſpective Countries, and be the only Way, and an effectual Way too, to make Gentlemen *juſt*, *charitable* and *hoſpitable*, and put in Execution our *good Laws*, in their reſpective Neighbourhoods; for Theſe are the only Ways to gain the *Love*

of

of Mankind, to eſtabliſh a *Natural Intereſt* in their Country, and to ſhew that They are *worthy* to be entruſted in the *High Office* of *Senators!*

Oh! that all who call themſelves *Britons*, were ſo virtuouſly diſpoſed to ſacrifice their *private Intereſts*, lay aſide their *mutual Jealouſies*, bid adieu to *Party Spirit*, and were ſo *truly wiſe*, as to unite their Endeavours to reſtore our *Conſtitution*; in the *Purity* and *Perfection* of which, long *Experience*, and the Example of their *Neighbours*, muſt needs make them ſenſible, that They and their Poſterity can only be *Free* and *Happy Men*. But, alas! to judge by the *Spirit* of the *preſent Times*, there is little Proſpect of ſoon ſeeing ſo *happy a Change*. The *virtuous Spirit* of our Anceſtors was firſt ſunk into that of *Party*; and, as if That was not Misfortune great enough, hath ſince fallen much lower, even into ſuch *Private-Intereſtedneſs* and *Corruption*, as is contrary to true *Self-Love* itſelf; becauſe thoſe who practiſe ſuch *Corruptions*, ſeem to have forgot that they are ſtill *Members of Society*, tho' *unworthy* ſo to be; and whenever their *Iniquities* ſhall overtake their Country, muſt fall with others, and perhaps before others, into the *publick Ruin*.

But if the *corrupt Spirit* of the preſent Times, nor the *Licentiouſneſs* of the preſent Age, can awaken us aforehand to a Senſe of our approaching Miſeries; the *Appearances* in the *Air*, of *Fightings* and *Blood*, by which it hath pleaſed GOD, at ſeveral times, for about twenty Years paſt, to warn us of *future Deſolations*, one would think, ſhould be enough to awaken the *moſt ſtupid* among us to a Senſe of his *own*, if he is aſleep to his *Country*'s Danger! For, when it pleaſes GOD to afflict a People for their *Sins*, with the ſore Judgment of *War*, the *Evil* muſt fall on *private Perſons*, and eſpecially on *Perſons of Subſtance*; for the *Poor* have generally nothing but a *Life* to loſe, and that, perhaps, a *miſerable* one too. And *Wars* are commonly attended with ſuch *Shifting*s of Power and Property, as ought, in our poor Opinion, to prevail on its *preſent Poſſeſſors* to deſire nothing ſo much as to have our *Conſtitution*, both *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical*, brought back to its *Firſt Principles*, and thereby eſtabliſhed on the ſolid Foundations of *Order*, *Religion* and *Liberty*; of which, the Decay or Corruption of the *One*, always brings Danger to the *others*.

The Deſign of *Almighty GOD* in ſending ſuch *Appearances*, is, That Nations may repent and turn from thoſe *iniquitous Ways* that provoke him; and, like the *Ninevites*, divert his Judgments, and prevent their own Deſtruction. It is for this Reaſon, that they are ſent at ſo great a Diſtance of Time, before the *Calamities* they portend come to paſs; altho' moſt People, therefore, become more and more *regardleſs* of them.——Our own, and other Hiſtories inform us, that ſuch *Prodigies* have always been the *ſad Omens* of future *Wars* and *Devaſtations*. Beſides, as there are infinitely more and greater *Wonders* in the common Courſe of Nature, which GOD hath eſtabliſhed, than the Mind of Man is able to inveſtigate or comprehend; I preſume, no rational Account can be given, why He ſhould ſet ſuch terrible præter-natural *Phænomena* before our Eyes, unleſs it

be

be to awaken us, by their Means, to a juſt Apprehenſion of thoſe *Woes*, which an *Epidemical Corruption*, ſpread through all *Orders*, both of *Church* and *State*, hath been conſtantly obſerved to bring upon Nations; but which *few Men* do reflect on ſo *ſoberly* and *wiſely*, as to be thereby reclaimed from their *corrupt Practices!*——It is therefore, without Diſpute, the *wiſeſt Way*, *better* for themſelves, and more *pleaſing* to GOD, that Men ſhould anſwer his *Gracious Deſign*, by *judging themſelves*, repenting of their *Corruptions*, and returning to *Order*, and to the pure Practice, and honeſt Enjoyment, of their *Religion* and *Liberty*; than by neglecting it, force the Almighty at length to viſit them with his long-delayed *Judgments*, and pull down their proud Spirits, and awaken them to a wiſer and better Senſe of Things by an Hand of *Affliction*; which will ſhew us the *Vanity* of thoſe Things wherein we place our Confidence.

That Saying of *Saluſt*, * *Imperium facile iis Artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum eſt*, is ſtrictly true; and ſo generally applicable to every Nation, that we no ſooner ſee a People departing from the *firſt Principles* of Religion and Liberty, but we behold them declining towards *Slavery* and *Unhappineſs*.——Now, there is a *Spirit* proper, and even neceſſary to eſtabliſh *Nations*, and to make them happy; which is a Spirit of *ſtrict Order* and *Regularity*; the great End and natural Tendency of which, is, as it were, to tie Men to *Virtue*, the Practice of which they ſtrongly enforce. And there is likewiſe a *Spirit* proper to ſink a People into *Contempt* with their Neighbours, *Slavery* to their Governors, and *Miſery* among themſelves; which is a Spirit of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Irreligion*: This *Evil Spirit* never propagates itſelf, but as the *Order of a State* relaxes, and the *Spirit of Liberty* thereby decays.

When a Spirit of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Impiety* is unhappily grown predominant in a People, there is no preventing the *Ruin* it leads to, but by returning to ORDER, both *religious* and *political*. Happy it is, as I have ſaid, for thoſe Nations, who are *wiſe* enough to do it of themſelves!——There are, in the *Old Teſtament*, many Inſtances of the *Jewiſh Commonwealth*'s being brought back to its *firſt Principles*. Moſt of them, indeed, were by Afflictions brought upon them by the *conquering Sword* of their Enemies; but there are alſo ſeveral Inſtances of *voluntary Repentance*, whereby they returned to the Standard of their *Freedom* and *Happineſs* of themſelves.

The *Roman Hiſtory* likewiſe, gives us ſeveral like Examples. Before the ſacking of their City by *Brennus* and his *Gauls*, the *Licentiouſneſs* of the People had prevailed ſo far, as to trample upon *Order*, and the State was thereby reduced almoſt to *Anarchy*: Religion too was diſregarded, and its *Sacred Rites* inſtituted by *Numa*, deſpiſed; when they thwarted the Humour of a Hot-headed Multitude, whoſe head-ſtrong Impetuoſity they were *wiſely* inſtituted on Purpoſe to bridle. But the Calamities of this War, which lay'd *Rome* in Aſhes, brought the *Romans* to themſelves; that is, brought them back to

* Prœme in Bell. Cat.

their

their *first Principles*, (*viz.*) the Obſervation of *Religion* and *Order*; and lay'd the Foundation of *Rome*'s future *Greatneſs*.

Afterwards, when *Voluptuouſneſs* and *Luxury* began to infect all the Parts of their *Republick*, the Romans were ſo *truly wiſe*, as to reform themſelves. The Office of *Cenſor*, was inſtituted on Purpoſe to hinder the Growth of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Luxury*, and to reform the *Manners* of the Citizens; the * *Cenſors* had a Right to enquire into the Life and Manners of every particular Perſon, to regulate *Expences*, to take Eſtimates of the Citizens *Eſtates*, to tax *Luxuries*, and to purge the *Senate* itſelf of its *unworthy Members*. *Cato*, ſeeing the *Degeneracy* into which his Countrymen were falling, ſtood for this *Office*, which, by Reaſon of the great and extraordinary *Powers* that belonged to it, was the moſt *honourable* in the City; he told the Citizens plainly, that the City wanted great *Reformation*: He preſſed and conjured the People to chuſe, if they were *wiſe*, not the mild and gentle, but the ſevereſt and roughest *Phyſicians*; and withal, gave them to underſtand, that *Himſelf* was one of that Character; and, that among the Patricians, *Valerius Flaccus* was the only Man, proper for his *Colleague*, with whoſe Aſſiſtance he was in Hopes to render any conſiderable Service to the State.

The *Roman* People, (as *Plutarch* ſays) on this Occaſion, ſhewed themſelves truly great, and worthy of great Leaders; for, far from dreading this Stiffneſs and Severity of this inflexible Man, they rejected all the other *ſmooth flattering Candidates*, who ſeemed inclined to govern only according to their Wills and Pleaſure, and unanimouſly choſe *Valerius Flaccus* and *Cato*.

After they were choſen, they ſet about *reforming* the State. Several *unworthy Members*, tho' of the Beſt Families in *Rome*, were by them expelled the Senate; after this, they attacked *Luxury*; they cauſed all *Apparel*, *Coaches*, *Women's Finery*, *Furniture*, *Houſhold-goods* and *Slaves*, to be heavily rated, that the *Weight* of the *Tax* might force them to leave ſo *ruinous a Luxury*.——Every Man who ſets about reforming *publick Vices*, muſt expect to meet Oppoſition, and ſo did *Cato* in this: But the *Roman People* in general, liked his *Cenſorſhip* ſo well, that they erected a Statue to him in the Temple of *Health*, with the following Inſcription under it: *To the Honour of* Cato, *the Cenſor, who, by his good Diſcipline and Order, reclaimed the* Roman *Commonwealth, when the publick Licentiouſneſs had brought it into a declining and dangerous State*; which was as great a Monument of the *Roman* Glory, as of *Cato*'s.

Having now ſhewn, in general, the Neceſſity of a Nation's returning to her firſt Principles of *Order*, both in *Religion*, and in the *State*, and mentioned theſe Inſtances of it, among infinite others, which the Hiſtorians of all Nations furniſh us with; we will humbly preſume to add, that, as *Religion*, and the *Holy Exerciſe* of it, according to the Knowledge and beſt Capacity of a People, is the great Cement of *Society*, and the chief Support of every *Common-*

* See *Plutarch*'s Life of *Cato*, the Cenſor.

wealth; nothing would be a greater Step towards an *happy Reformation*, than causing the *publick Worship* of Almighty God, to be duly and decently performed and administered in all Places throughout the Kingdom; which, by Means of the great Number of *Pluralities*, *poor Livings*, *Chapels of Ease*, &c. is, in many Places, lamentably neglected, to the *Loss of Souls*, the *Dishonour of the Church*, and to the *unspeakable Hurt* of the *English Nation*.——If we consult History, we shall find that the most *illustrious Institutors* and *Reformers* of Order, in all Nations, have begun that *great Work*, with the Institution and Reformation of *Religion*. Nay, he that consults only his *Bible*, will see that God every where recommends it by his Prophets, and that all the *good* Judges and Kings, there recorded, did make the *purifying of Religion*, the first Step towards reforming the Manners of the People.——Those Nations, by whom God is duly *worshiped* and *honoured*, he will *bless*, *protect*, and *honour*; but those by whom his *Service* is neglected, thro' *Love* of the *World*, its *Pomps* and *Vanities*; those Nations, I say, will be little regarded; and, in fine, wholly *cast off* by his Providence, and left to sink into their original *Poverty* and *Contempt*, with *Slavery* added, to complete their Miseries.

Besides the *Service of Religion*, there are *two Things* which most great *Legislators* and *Founders* of *Societies* have found themselves obliged, more or less, to take Care of, in Order to perpetuate the *Societies* they have established to After-Ages, (*viz.*) The *Education of Children*, and the *Institution of such* Order, *as did oblige the* People *to live according to the* Laws.——We shall therefore, with the humblest Submission to *better Judgments*, lay before the *publick*, in the following Sheets; *First*, a Scheme for the *Education* of the *Children of the Common People* in *England*, by which they will be brought up in the Practice of *Religion*, *Morality*, and *Industry*.—— *Secondly*, a Proposal of reviving such *exact Order* throughout the Kingdom, as will, not only make it easier for the *Magistrate* to do his *Duty*, but put it out of the Power of *disorderly People*, to evade, or fly from the *Punishment* which the *Law* inflicts. And, *Thirdly*, as the *publick Taxes* are one principal Source of *Poverty*; not only on Account of the large Sums of Money, yearly drained out of the Subjects Estates by them, which, it is well known, cannot be lessened till our Circumstances will admit; but still more, because, being lay'd on *Commodities*, which are the *Materials of Trade*, and *Necessaries of Life*, and collected in a Manner, which is, not only *very expensive* to the Nation, but *prejudicial* to the *fair Trader*, are very hurtful to our *Commerce*, as well as dangerous to *Liberty*; and the Occasion of an *epidemical Corruption* in the *Smuggling* Way, in our *maritime Counties*; we shall, therefore, as I have said, with *humble Submission*, lay before the Publick, a Project for raising the *Annual Supplies*, by a Taxation on the *yearly Income* of the Subject; which, as it is the *largest Fund* and most *substantial*, to answer whatever Demands the *Necessity of the State* can require, is also, the most *natural* and *just* Way of taxing; and will set both our *Trade* and *Constitution*

free

free from those *Clogs* and *Dangers*, which our *Customs* and *Excises*, and the *severe Laws* made to collect them, have occasioned.

As these are Subjects of the highest Importance to this Nation, and *Customs* and *Excises* in particular, have been the Causes of many Disputes, even among our *ablest Men*, it is with the greatest *Diffidence* that we presume to publish these *Proposals*; and if the Publication would admit of the Construction, rather to learn hereby the Opinion of *better Judges* in these Things, than to say, that they, or any Thing contained in them, is *fit* or *unfit* to be established at this Time; we hope therefore, that whatever our *candid* or *more judicious* Readers, may think of the *Schemes* themselves, they will pardon the *Proposer*, if they shall perceive, by the general Scope and Tenor of what is said, that he has chiefly at Heart, the *Good of his Country*, the *Relief of the Poor*, and the Re-establishment of *Order*, *Virtue*, and *Liberty*, among a *licentious* and *corrupt People*; however, he may be mistaken as to the Way of procuring these *Blessings!*

CHAP. I.

A Scheme for the publick Education of Children. *That both Natural Parents and Civil Government, ought to take care that they are bred up to* Religion, Virtue, *and* Industry; *and the* Happy Effects *that would proceed from it. The* Scheme *itself, with proper Explanations.*

ALmost all Law-givers and Founders of Societies, both *religious* and *politick*, among *Jews*, *Heathens*, or *Christians*, have taken very particular Care, to breed up *Children* in the Knowledge and Practice of those *Constitutions*, *Duties*, and *Customs*, which were established and generally acknowledged among them. And in this, they wisely followed the Dictates of natural Reason, by beginning to sow the *Seeds of Virtue* in their Minds, as in clean Ground, before they were over-run with the suffocating Weeds of *Immorality* and *Vice*, which have most Times need of much Time, Trouble, and Pains, before they can be eradicated. These *wise* Men were directed by the same Spirit of Wisdom and Benevolence, thro' which *Solomon* tells us, *Train up a Child in the Way that he should go, and when he is old he shall not depart from it*: Being willing to fix their Minds on *sound Principles*, at a Time, when, as *Plutarch*, in his Treatise of the *Education of Children*, observes, *They are most apt to receive Instructions, as soft Wax receives the Impression of any Seal.* For, by putting Children into a *good Way*, and keeping them in it before any *vicious Habits* have lay'd hold upon them; Men, not only prevent the great Pains of *Future Repentance*, which is the *best* that can be hoped for, for their Children; but many Times, their *certain Ruin*: As we may certainly conclude from the infinite Numbers we

daily ſee fall into *ruinous Courſes*, which a *virtuous Education* would have prevented.

It may admit of ſome Doubt, whether the *civil Government*, eſpecially where *Church* and *State* are united in the ſame, or the *natural Parent*, has the greater Intereſt or Right in the *good Education* of Youth. It is certain, that the higheſt Intereſts of every *Commonwealth* and *private Family*, are moſt intimately concerned in it, as they are the Heirs of the *Hopes* as well as *Fortunes*, both of the one and the other. *Strict Care* in Education of Children, is the only ſure Way to eſtabliſh *Nations* in Glory and Wealth, and *private Families* in Happineſs and Credit; and therefore, it ſhews equally a Defect of Wiſdom and Fore-ſight, in *Legiſlators* and *Parents*, when we ſee the *former* laying themſelves out every Way to enrich their *People*, and the *latter*, their *Children*; and both neglect the breeding them up to *Religion*, *Virtue* and *Induſtry*: So that Poſterity don't know how to make a good Uſe of *Liberty* and *Riches*, when acquired and left to them.——Alas! How many free, opulent, and powerful Nations, have been ſunk into Slavery, Contempt, and Poverty by thoſe *Vices*, which due Care in the publick Inſtitution of *Youth* in the Ways of *Virtue*, would have prevented; and how many *Families* do we daily ſee ruined by *profligate Heirs*, only becauſe their *Parents* did not take ſo much Care to incline their *Children*'s Minds with *virtuous Principles*, as to leave them *rich?* not conſidering, that no Man can make a good Uſe of the *Bleſſings of Life*, but in Proportion as he has *Virtue* and *Goodneſs* to direct him in it!

However, 'tis very plain, that both *Government* and *Parents* have a *Duty*, and conſequently a *Right* eſtabliſhed in the Reaſon and Nature of the *Relations* they are in to them; to look to the Education, the one, of the Children of the *Commonwealth*; the others, of their *own*. For this Reaſon, the firſt Thing to be looked to in a *Scheme of Education*, is, ſo to mix their particular Powers, as that they may not break in upon the *Rights*, one of the other. *Parents* would think it very hard, that any Power, *Civil* or *Eccleſiaſtical*, ſhould take from them, the Education of thoſe Children whom the Providence of God hath bleſſed them with, and entruſted to them; on the other Hand, it is unreaſonable that they ſhould be let alone to breed up thoſe in *Impiety*, *Vice*, and *Idleneſs*, who, being Members of the *Commonwealth*, the Society is, by *original Contract*, bound to take care of, and provide for, reward for their *Virtue*, and puniſh for their Crimes.——A particular Retroſpect ought likewiſe to be had to the many *religious Sects*, which it hath long been the greateſt *Misfortune* of this Nation, to be divided into; every one of which, would look upon it as the higheſt Violation of their *natural and religious Rights*, to have the breeding up of their *Children* taken from them. But that which ſaves the Right of *natural Parents*, will, of Neceſſity, ſave *theirs* as ſuch; and, as there will be in our Scheme, no *Force*, nor even *Inſtruction* to any thing, but to the Practice of ſuch general Principles of *Religion* and *Morality*, wherein all *Chriſtians*, at leaſt all *Proteſtants* are agreed; I hope, there is

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no Parent, I am ſure there is no *Proteſtant Diſſenting Sect*, but has too ſerious a Senſe of *Virtue* and *Religion* to quarrel with it on that Account.

It is an Objection, I have frequently heard, made to Propoſals of this Sort, that ſuppoſing Children were all put to *Schools*, and bred up in a more *learned Way* than they generally are now, it would do but little Good to thoſe who muſt *work* for their Bread all Days of their Life. But the Excellency of *Education*, I mean, of the *general Education* of all the Children of a *Kingdom* or *Common-wealth*, doth not conſiſt in their being brought up to *Learning*, but to *Morality* and *Induſtry*. And, in order to this, I believe *few* do think, but it is even *neceſſary*, that every Child ſhould be taught to *Read*, ſo as to be acquainted with the *Holy Scriptures*, and other *Good Books*; and that *Writing*, and a ſmall Share of *Arithmetick*, would be very uſeful to the greater Part, provided their learning it did not interfere with their being brought up to *Induſtry* and *Work*.

Great-Britain's Welfare, and the Employment of her People, do ſo much depend on the *Continuance* and future *Improvement* of her TRADE, that a Method of diſpoſing of our *poorer Sort* of Children, in a Way of *Labour* and *Induſtry*, is, perhaps, the greateſt Difficulty to be got over in a Scheme of *general Education*; for, when all is done, if *Trade* decays, many muſt be *idle*, not voluntarily, but of Neceſſity, and the Number of our *Manufacturers* will decreaſe; and there will conſequently be, tho' not fewer *Trades*, yet *leſs Work* at our Trades, to put Children out to. But ſtill, an *honeſt Inactivity* is far preferable to a *vicious Idleneſs*; and if our *Trade* ſhould decay, and our *Poor* want *Work*, 'tis infinitely better for them, and for the Nation too, that they ſhould be bred up to a Senſe of *Religion* and *Virtue*, and be able to ſit down and ſpend their Leiſure Hours, in *Reading* in their *Bible*, or meditating on ſome plain Treatiſe of *Moral Duties*; than that they ſhould (as they generally do now) employ themſelves in all Sorts of *Sin* and *Immoralities*. The *former* would tend to *better* their Condition; it would draw the *Love*, both of GOD and MAN, to pity their Caſe, and to relieve their Neceſſities; *I have been young, and now am old*, (ſays the Holy Pſalmiſt) *yet have I not ſeen the Righteous forſaken, nor his Seed begging their Bread*: Nay, the natural Effect of their becoming *more Virtuous*, would be to make them leſs *Neceſſitous*. Whereas the *latter*, that is, their *Immoralities*, from their natural and immediate Conſequences, not only render our Poor much more *penurious* and *miſerable* than they would otherwiſe be, but alienate the *Love* of GOD, and the *Charity* of their *Rich Neighbours*, from taking Ways to relieve them.

The principal Deſign therefore of the following *Scheme*, will be to breed up the Children of the *Common People* of *England*, free from thoſe *Vices* of all Sorts, which do now almoſt univerſally abound amongſt them; and in the *Knowledge* and *Practice* of the Duties of *Chriſtianity*. This, every one muſt allow, ought to be done by every *Society of Chriſtians*, and may be done, tho' our *Trade* ſhould fail; nay, in a Country where there might happen to be no ſuch Thing as *Trade*. However, we hope, that our *Scheme* will not, even

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in this Reſpect, be wholly defective. For, altho' it is, perhaps, a difficult Matter to go further than our Laws do go already, for the putting out of *Poor Children*; yet there are two Things very much wanting to them, which will be here provided for; *Firſt*, That they ſhould be kept to the Exerciſes of *Religion* and *Morality*: And, *2dly*, That they ſhould be *well uſed* during their *Apprenticeſhips*; beſides, taking Care that our *Laws* ſhall be more conſtantly *executed* in that Caſe; which *Non-Execution* of the *Laws* is at this Time, as we have elſewhere taken Notice, one of *England*'s greateſt Misfortunes.

The *Scheme* of EDUCATION.

THAT a *Corporation* be created in every Pariſh, conſiſting of the *Miniſter*, and the *Ten oldeſt Men* in it, under 70, who pay to *Publick Taxes*; who ſhall be *Overſeers* of the Youth. Let this Corporation chuſe a *School-Maſter* and *Miſtreſs*, and the Pariſh be obliged to erect a *School-Houſe*.—— If a Pariſh is too large for *One Maſter*, &c. or *One Corporation* of Overſeers, it may be divided; and if too ſmall, two or three contiguous little Pariſhes may join in the ſame *Overſeers* and *Maſter*.

Let the *Maſter* have the *bigger Boys*, and ſuch *Girls* as learn *Writing* or *Arithmetick*, under his Care; and the *Miſtreſs*, the *little Boys* 'till they have learn'd to *Read*, and the *Girls* who *Read*, *Sow*, *Knit*, &c. under her's. For the *Maſter*'s Maintenance, let *Four Shillings* a Year be Rated on every *Houſe-keeper*; and *Two Shillings*, for the *Miſtreſs*'s; Which is an eaſier Rate than moſt *poor People*, who are not on *Charities*, pay for their Children's *Schooling* already; and would raiſe a certain Income of *Twenty Pounds* a Year for the *Maſter*, and *Ten* for the *Miſtreſs*, for an *hundred* Houſes in a Diſtrict; which is more than the preſent Endowment of moſt Schools in our Country Places.

Let every Perſon, living within the Diſtrict, have a Privilege of ſending all his *Children*, if he pleaſes, to this *School*, between the Ages of *Six* and *Sixteen*; but let it not be in the Power of the *Overſeers* to force any one to ſend a Child to it, except in caſe of the following *Neglects*.

If he is not taught to *Read*; is not ſent to *Church*, or, if *Diſſenters*, to *Meeting* on *Sundays*; is ſuffer'd to be *undutiful* to his Parents or Superiors; *Steals*, *Lies*, *Swears*, *Curſes*, uſes *filthy Diſcourſe*, or, being *poor*, is let alone to live *idly*, when he has *Work* to do. For Theſe, being the Beginnings of a *vicious Life*, are ſure Signs that the Parents or Maſter do neglect the Child's Education; therefore, if after being *Thrice* admoniſhed by the *Overſeers*, they do not educate him better, let it be in the Power of *theſe* to oblige them to ſend him to the *Publick School* for a Year at leaſt: And to make them take the greater Care, let the Parent, Maſter or Miſtreſs, wear a

Badge

Badge for a Month afterwards, denoting their *Negligence*; and the Child be kept in School a Month at *Play-Times*, that he may not *corrupt* the other Children.

The *Overſeers*, or a Majority of them, to be obliged to meet *twice* every Month; *once*, on a *Sunday*, at Church, after *Evening-Prayer*; the *ſecond Time*, on a Week-Day, in the School-Houſe, about 15 Days after, at the Hour of *Nine* in the Morning. Let all *Parents*, *Maſters* and *Miſtreſſes*, be obliged to ſend every *Child*, within the above-mentioned Ages, in their Houſe, whether *Son*, *Daughter*, *Servant*, *Apprentice* or *Inmate*, to theſe *Meetings*: Let a *Roll* be kept with their Names, and let one of the *Overſeers* call them over every *Meeting*: If any Child is abſent, let his Parents or Maſter, for the *firſt* Time, ſend only *Four-pence* in his Place; but if abſent *two Meetings* together, (except *Sickneſs*) let them forfeit *Ten Shillings*; and let the *Forfeitures* be applied to buy *Books* for Poor Children.

At the *Sunday*'s Meeting, it would not be improper, if the *Miniſter*, immediately after *Prayer* ended, was to deſire his *Congregation* in general, to declare if they knew any Child guilty of any of the *Miſdemeanors* above-mentioned! After This, the Children being conveniently ſeated, in an orderly Manner; let the *Overſeers* firſt examine the moſt ſuſpected of thoſe Children, who are not ſent to the *Publick School*, if they can *Read*, and are made to go to ſome Place of *Publick Worſhip*: Then let them endeavour to give them good Notions of *Religion* and *Morality*; which nothing would do more effectually, than putting *three* or *four* of the Children to read, half an Hour each, in ſome *good Books*; ſuch as the *Whole Duty of Man*, or the like, which contain the beſt Inſtructions in theſe Things. By which, the *Parents*, *School-Maſter*, &c. would be obliged to be very careful to teach them to read *diſtinctly*, and *underſtand* what they read; which is ſadly neglected by many, who have the Education of Children committed to them.

At their *Week-Day* Meeting at the *School*, let the *Overſeers* always ſit at Examination, from *Nine* 'till *Twelve* o'Clock; 'tis proper they ſhould here, particularly, look over the *Exerciſes* of thoſe who learn *Writing* and *Arithmetick*, and examine how the *little Children* are brought on in learning their *Books*; let them alſo carefully examine ſome of thoſe Children who are not educated at the *School*, to ſee that they are not neglected. During this Time, they may receive any Complaint againſt either *Maſter*, *Miſtreſs*, *Parents* or *Children*. And as they ended the *Sunday*'s Meeting, with making ſome of the *Children* read ſome Pieces of *Religion* and *Morality*, let them break up *This*, with cauſing the *Maſter* to read ſome ſuch to the *Children*.

——The remaining Part of the Day, let the Children keep *Holiday*; and it would not be improper, if in the *Afternoon*, ſome of the *Overſeers* were to reſort to their *Play-place*, and be their *Spectators*. Methinks, nothing ſhould be more agreeable or diverting, than to ſet 'em on to Exerciſes of *Manlineſs* and *Activity*, which would diſcover their *Genius*, as much as their more ſerious Examinations. They would likewiſe ſee if any thing that happened at *Play*, would provoke

voke them to give *Ill-Language*, with which their *Maſter*, or (if educated at Home) their *Parents*, &c. ought to be acquainted, that they may have a gentle *Correction*, but not till *next Day*, that the others be not diſturbed at their *Paſtime*.

Let the Children at the *School*, ſpend one half of every Day, in learning to *read*, *write*, *Arithmetick*, *ſow*, *knit*, or what their Parents think fit they ſhould learn there; but let the other Part of the Day be ſpent in *reading*, and *learning by heart* ſome Portions of *Scripture*, or *good Books* appointed on Purpoſe, to teach them their *Duty*. And when he comes to be *ſixteen* Years old, let every *poor Child* have a *Bible*, *Prayer-Book*, and ſuch other *good Books* as may be thought proper to be read in Schools, given him, to be payed for by *charitable Contributions*, *Forfeitures*, or, if theſe fail, at the *Pariſh* Charge.

When the *Maſter* or *Miſtreſs* neglect Duty or misbehave, let the *Overſeers*, for the *firſt* Offence, only reprehend in *private* for the Fault, not before the *Children*, leſt they loſe their Authority over them. For the *ſecond*, let the whole *Corporation* come together, and proceed to take away, not leſs than a *Month*'s, and not more than *ſix Months* Salery, as they ſhall judge the Offence to be.—If, after this, the ſame *Maſter* or *Miſtreſs*, is guilty of a *third Offence*, let the whole *Corporation* be called together, as before, and proceed to diſcharge him by *Vote*. If only *ſix* of the *eleven Overſeers*, ſhall vote for his Diſcharge, let him be only deprived of that School, with Liberty to go to another, if he can get one. If *eight* ſhall vote againſt him, let it diſqualify him from ſerving in *any School* for *three Years*. But if they are *unanimous*, let it be *incapable* for ever.

Let it alſo be in the Power of the *Overſeers*, to require the *Parents*, *Maſter*, or *Miſtreſs* of a *Child*, to give him *plain* and *decent Apparel*; and on their *Inability*, to oblige the *Overſeers of the Poor*, to cloathe him once a Year.

If Parents of *Ability*, ſhall neglect to put out their Children *Apprentices*, or to breed them up in an *induſtrious Way*, let it be in the *Overſeers* Power to force them to it, by a reaſonable *Fine*. And if *Church-wardens*, &c. ſhall neglect, as they now generally do, to put out *poor Apprentices*, let it be in the Power of the *Corporation* of *Overſeers of the Youth*, to lay a *Fine*, not exceeding 5 *l.* nor under 40 *s.* on each parochial Officer, ſo neglecting. And to the End, ſuch *poor Apprentices* may be conſcientiouſly treated, let it be in the Power of this *Corporation* to void the *Indentures*, and re-apprentice any Child, whoſe Maſter (living in their *Diſtrict*) doth not appear to them, capable to perform his Part of the *Covenats* he hath agreed to.

Laſtly, Let no Man be an *Overſeer*, who does not reſide in the Diſtrict or Pariſh. If any one is abſent *two Meetings* together, let him forfeit 10 *s.* to buy Books, *&c.* as above. And when any one dies, or moves out of his Diſtrict, let the others, at their next *Meeting*, ſummons the next oldeſt Man, qualified as above, to ſupply his Place; and let it be at the Choice of any one, to *hold*, or *quit* it, after he comes to 70.

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We will now beg Leave to conclude, with farther explaining a few Things in this *Scheme*, which our Readers may not preſently ſee the Reaſon or Uſe of.

Firſt, That the *Overſeers* ſhould come into their Office by *Seniority*, is highly proper, becauſe Perſons of the greateſt Prudence, Gravity, and Experience, ought to be in that Office. Beſides, it is preferable to *electing* them, becauſe, *Elections* in Towns and Pariſhes are moſt Times in the Hands of one or two *governing Men*, who would make them fall on their own *Creatures*; which *private Influence* ought, as far as poſſible, to be avoided, in a Matter of this Great Importance.

Secondly, Our Readers muſt ſee, that, as we propoſed, here is full Liberty left, both to *Parents* and *Diſſenters*, to educate their own Children, as they are minded, provided they do it in a *religious*, *virtuous*, and *induſtrious* Way. It is propoſed, indeed, that the ſmall Penalty of *Four-Pence*, ſhall be ſent inſtead of any Child who ſhould not come to the *Meeting*; which, if it was thought a little hard on *Diſſenters*, on *Sundays*, may be omitted, in thoſe Caſes, where the *Diſſenting Meeting-houſe* is ſo far off, that the Children can't appear Time enough at Examination at Church; the Deſign of the *Penalty* being chiefly, that *poor People* may rather chuſe to ſend the *Child* than the *Money*, to the *Week-day* Meeting; and the Deſign of its being no more is, that if the *Parent* or *Maſter*, has extraordinary Buſineſs for the *Child* to do, he may not be hindered in his *Buſineſs*, paying that *ſmall Penalty*.

We hope, no *pious* and *well-meaning Diſſenter* will find Fault, either with the *Miniſter*'s being one of the *Overſeers*, the Meeting once a Month at *Church*, or the *Children*'s being put to read in ſome *good Books*, proper for their Inſtruction. As to the *firſt*, 'tis certainly very proper the *Miniſter of the Pariſh* ſhould be one, and he is but *one* of *eleven*.——The *ſecond*, I think, that conſidering the *Liberty* left to them, they have no Reaſon to object to.——And, as to the *third*, if no other Books could be found out to general Satisfaction, not only all *Proteſtants*, but all *Chriſtians* agree in the *Holy Scriptures*, tho' they differ in the Interpretation of them. To ſalve this, then, let the *Diſſenters* Children be always put to read ſome *Chapters* in the *Bible*.

Laſtly, The Power propoſed to be given to the *Overſeers*, to oblige Parents and Pariſh-Officers to breed up Children in *Induſtry*, or *apprentice* them, is no more than is highly reaſonable, as the Children are *Members* of the *Commonwealth*. It is abſolutely neceſſary to their *future Well-being*; and, if *Parents* are either negligent or unable to do it, it is fit that this proper and prudent Precaution ſhould be taken by the *Publick*, in Order to prevent, in due Time, the *Burthen* and *Diſgrace* which *Idle People* always bring upon it.

CHAP. II.

A Propoſal for the Re-eſtabliſhment of ſtrict Order *in* England. *A brief Account of the* Order *heretofore eſtabliſhed by King* Alfred *the Great, with its happy Effects. That the Imitation of the ſame, as near as the Circumſtances of the Nation will admit, is the only effectual Cure for our preſent* Licentiouſneſs *and* Diſorders.

SIR *John Spelman* aptly and beautifully compares the *confuſed State* * to which this Nation was reduced in King *Alfred*'s Time, by the frequent Invaſions and Inundations of the *Danes*, with that *univerſal Chaos*, deſtitute of regular Being, Form, Life, Beauty, or Perfection, out of which GOD created the World. —— *Licentiouſneſs* was ſo epidemical, that there was no Part *ſincere* in the Commonwealth. *Violence*, *Robberies*, and *Murthers*, did infinitely abound. And tho' the *Laws* were *ſtricter* than formerly, yet the Means of *Proſecution* and *Diſcovery* was not anſwerable to what the Condition of the Times then required.

This Deſcription, ſetting aſide the *War* which occaſioned it, ſeems to be but too true a Picture of *our Times*. We do not want *Laws* to puniſh the *Vices of the Age*; for, truly, a due Regard to the *Liberty* of this Country, ought to make every *Engliſhman*, rather wiſh to ſee the great Number of our *penal Laws* leſſened than encreaſed: But we want to have ſuch *Order* renewed and eſtabliſhed among us, as is proper to keep our *Criminals* from running away from, and avoiding the Puniſhment which the Law inflicts. This only can cure our preſent *epidemical Corruption* and *Licentiouſneſs*, eſpecially among the common People; and this only can put a Stop to the *Violence*, *Robberies*, and *Murthers*, which are ſo frequent among us.

But the wiſe Inſtitutions of this *great Law-giver* of *England*, and *principal Founder* of our antient Conſtitution and Liberties, produced ſo ſtrange and ſudden a Change in the Kingdom; "† That, whereas "before there was no travelling without a *ſafe Convoy of Arms*; "preſently, there was not only *ſafe Paſſage*, but all Places became ſo "*ſecure*, that when the King, for Experience Sake, cauſed *golden Bracelets* to be hung up in the *Croſs-ways*, they ſeemed to deride the "Paſſenger, for no Man durſt lay his Hands on them. Virgins "might ſafely travel any where alone: Nay, if any one left his "*Money* all Night in the *Highways*, he might come the next Morning, and be ſure to find it all, whole and untouched."

To effect this wonderful and happy Change in his People, this *wiſe Prince* did not make uſe of the Way ſo much practiſed in theſe

* Life of *Alfred*, Book II. Pag. 94.
† Ibid. p. 114.

Times;

Times, (*viz.*) Subjecting them to many ſevere *Penal Laws*; for, the *Laws* in thoſe Days, were much *leſs ſevere*, as well as, comparatively ſpeaking, infinitely *leſs numerous*, than they are at preſent. * "We "may obſerve, in theſe *Laws* (ſays our Author) a great Regard had "of *Life*, in Compariſon of what we find in the Laws of *later* "*Ages*, which, for Remedy of very *ſmall Offences*, have too ready "a Reſort to *Blood*." And juſt before, he rightly obſerves; *Succeeding Ages have receded from them, not upon any better Advice of what was more equal, but rather upon the ſole Conſideration of the* Conſequence *of Things, wherein* Fear *being the Agent*, has, *for Prevention's Sake, oftentimes enacted more* ſeverely, *than* Equity, *for meer Puniſhment of the* Fact, *would of itſelf have done.*——The Way which the *good King* took to accompliſh this *great Work*, was this:

He divided the whole Kingdom into *Shires*, and every Shire into *Hundreds* and *Trithings*, (that is, Diviſions that contained *three Hundreds* a-piece) and each *Hundred* into *Tythings*, or Societies of *ten Men*, more or leſs each *. Theſe *ten Men* being Houſholders, ſtood mutual Pledges to the King for the *good Behaviour* and *Appearance* of one another, and of all the Perſons in their *Tything* or *Decennary*, or FREE-BOURG, (which Name was given to put them in Mind that they were Societies of *Free Men*) and none was accounted a *leige Man*, or one that lived *legally*, except he was comprehended in a *certain* Hundred and *Tything*; elſe, he was looked on, and puniſhed, as an *Out-Law*.

If any one of any Decennary was ſuſpected and queſtioned of any Offence, and the Headboroughs or chief Pledges of the Free-bourgh would not undertake for his Appearance and Acquittal of himſelf, he was impriſoned, and to expect his Trial and the Severity of the Law. If he fled (whether before his finding Sureties or after) and were not brought in to anſwer, both the *Hundred* and the *Tything* that he was of, incurred a Mulct or Fine unto the King.

The Manner whereof (this Writer tells) appears more at large by the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*, to have been thus.—† "The Delin- "quent flying, the Free-bourg or Tything had 31 Days given them "to find him and bring him forth. If they failed of this, then the "Headborough or chief Pledge of that Free-bourg, with two more "of the Free-bourg, procured three chief Pledges of three of the "next Free-bourgs, with two more out of each of thoſe Free- "bourgs (which made twelve in all) to ſwear with them, that, in their "Conſcience, the Free-bourg was innocent, both from Privity of "the Fault and Flight of the *Delinquent*. If the Neighbour Free- "bourgs could not be drawn to this, then the Free-bourg, whence "the ſuſpected fled, was, by a good round Fine, compelled to make "Satisfaction to the King, according to the Quality of the Fact "committed, to which Fine the Goods of the Delinquent (if any "he had) were, in the firſt Place, liable, as far as they would go; "but they failing, the Reſidue was to be ſupplied by a general Levy

* Pag. 101. † Ibid. 109.

" upon all the whole Free-bourg; who beſides, were put, Man by " Man, to purge themſelves by their corporal Oath from being pri- " vy, either to the Fault or Flight, and to ſwear that they would " bring forth the Delinquent to Judgment, whenſoever they could " find him out.

" If it happened, that a Way-faring Man (Friend or Stranger) " lodged in any Man's Houſe, and grew to be ſuſpected of any Of- " fence, if when he was ſought for, he could not be found, it was en- " quired how long he had ſtayed in the Houſe. If it appeared he " had not ſtayed above *two Nights*, the Houſholder might, by the " Oath of himſelf and two of his Neighbours, purge himſelf from " Suſpicion of Privity with the Delinquent, which if he did, he " was diſcharged; but if the *Gueſs* had lodged *three Nights* in the " Houſe, the Maſter was then to have him forth-coming, or to an- " ſwer for him."

When the King had made ſo exact a Diſtribution of his People, and in this Manner made them mutual Pledges for the good Behaviour of one another, he applied himſelf to the Reformation of the *Courts of Judicature*, *Magiſtrates*, and *Officers*, in every County: Some of whom had ſo far forgot that they were *Miniſters of Juſtice*, that they adminiſtered the *Government* of the *Countries*, rather as *Rights of Lordſhip*, than as Offices of *Charge* and *Duty* * ; and for their *Lord-like Carriages*, were called *Vice-Domini*, or *Vidomes*. He therefore made ſeveral conſiderable, but neceſſary *Alterations*, in the Method of adminiſtering the Law; rendering thereby the due *Execution* of Juſtice, the Means of *Suit*, and ready *Proſecution* of Right eaſier to the *Subject*. *County-Courts* were then (under the King himſelf) the *Higheſt Courts* in the Kingdom; and, together with their *inferior Courts*, held in every *Tritbing*, *Hundred-Courts*, and *Leets*, were certainly a moſt *natural*, *eaſy*, and *excellent* Way of doing *Publick Juſtice*, perfectly conſiſtent with *publick Liberty*.

Of theſe *Courts*, the LEET, or *View of Frank Pledge*, was antiently accounted, *Summa & Maxima Securitas Regni*, † The *Great Security of the Commonwealth*; and was (ſays our Author) the whole and ſole Adminiſtration of Juſtice criminal in inferior Matters, as *Force*, *Treſpaſs*, and *Misbehaviour*, that was in the Kingdom. This Court was particularly inſtituted to keep the People to the Obſervation of the *admirable* Order above deſcribed: And altho' it hath been for a long Time decaying, and its Juriſdiction transferred, by little and little, to Courts of a ſuperiour Nature, ſince erected; ſo that *Leets* now bear little more than the Shadow of their firſt Inſtitution; yet the Publick ſeem to have been ſo little *Gainers* by the Change, that our more *modern Eſtabliſhments* ſeem to be full as far ſhort of its *true Wiſdom* and *excellent Uſe*, as they do of its Antiquity.——For, our Author continues thus, (*Page* 117, &c.)

" That we may the better conceive of their Excellence, we may " obſerve, that had they continued in Practice, according to their

* Ibid. p. 112. † Pag. 116, &c.

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" antient Uſe, they, in many Things, even unto this Day, would " not have been unprofitable to the Commonwealth; and, for In- " ſtance, the continual Trouble and Contention, that is daily raiſed " between Town and Town, about the *Settling* of People charge- " able, or feared to be chargeable; the univerſal Complaint of the *Li-* " *centiouſneſs* and *Unruline ſs* of Servants, who, for the Liberty they now " have of changing at their Pleaſure, will ſtay in no Place, nor ſerve, " but upon ſuch Conditions both for Work and Wages, as is grievous " to Maſters, and gives Trouble to all the *Juſtices* in the Kingdom to " regulate; the Peſter and Annoyance of the Kingdom with ſuch a " Surcharge of *vagrant and diſorderly People*, that more and more now " a-days abound, and many other ſuch-like *Inconveniencies* had been " all avoided, or, in a great part remedied by the Obſervance of the " Law of *Frank-Pledge*. For, when one could not leave the Free- " bourg of which he was, without the Allowance and Teſtimo- " nial of the *Borſholder*, nor enter any new Free-bourg that would " not warily examine the Condition of their New-come Decennar, " whom they were to receive, and might, perhaps, be put to an- " ſwer for all the *Evils* that conſequently follow; the Liberty and " Facility of ſhifting *up* and *down*, muſt needs be undoubtedly pre- " vented: Beſides that, the continual Suſpect and Eye that was " upon ſuch People, and the ready *Proſecution* even at Home of " the leaſt Offences, that could be committed againſt *Neighbourhood* " and *Good-manners*, which was ſtrictly then exerciſed in thoſe " Courts, did prevent the *very Diſpoſition* of ill-minded Men from " the Attempt of diſſolute Courſes." —— Nothing now comes up to this, either for Strictneſs of Order, the Excellency of its Effect, or Eaſineſs of Execution.

Theſe, and like theſe, were the Inſtitutions, by which this *wiſe* and *pious Prince* endeavoured to make his People *free, as the Thoughts of Man*. And altho' we would not be underſtood, by the imperfect Sketch here given of them, to propoſe or wiſh for their Re-eſtabliſhment in the Manner then uſed, if it could, at this Diſtance of Time, be perfectly diſcovered; yet, to look back to the Cauſes of the preſent *Decay of Virtue*, and *Licentiouſneſs* among the common People, I can't help being humbly of Opinion, and hope that all *judicious Perſons* will concur with me, that nothing can ſo effectually cure it, as Methods taken from this *antient Model*, and ſuited, as near as is conſiſtent with anſwering their *true Deſign*, with the Eſtabliſhments, Laws, and Cuſtoms now in Uſe.

For, beſides the *little Care* which hath been generally taken in moſt Reigns, to fill the *Commiſſion of the Peace* with Gentlemen, whoſe *Wiſdom*, *Integrity*, and *Knowledge of the Law*, render'd them equal to the *Great Truſt*, which the Multiplicity of our *Statutes* hath veſted in them; and whoſe *Juriſdiction*, as it is every Day encreaſing, from the Nature and Reaſon of Things, plainly requires, that greater Care than ever ſhould be taken to admit none into the Exerciſe of their *Great Power*, who are not qualified for the due Diſcharge of their *Duty*, by the above-mentioned *Virtues* and *Accompliſhments*:

And,

And, beſides the too great *Exactions* of Juſtices *Clerks* in their *Fees*, which, like all other *burthenſome Expence* in Law-Proceedings, are like ſo many *Weeds* that dam up the regular Current of *publick Juſtice*; I take the following to be the principal Cauſes of the preſent *great Diſorders* and *Licentiouſneſs* of the common People.

1*ſt*, The Negligence of *Conſtables*, *Petty-Conſtables*, *Headboroughs*, *Tythingmen*, &c. in the Performance of their *Duty*; one great Reaſon of which is, the *Multitude of People* at preſent contained within a Hundred or Tything, who make it proportionably more troubleſome to an Officer to perform his Duty, was he otherwiſe diſpoſed to do it.

2*dly*, The Neglect of *Pariſhes* and *Pariſh-Officers*, in entertaining and ſuffering ſo many People to reſide in their Pariſh, either as *Houſeholders*, *Inmates*, *Servants*, *Journeymen*, *Vagrants*, &c. of whom they have neither *Certificate* from their Pariſh, *Teſtimonial* of their good Behaviour, nor who have lawful Authority to ask *Alms*. A Perſon now a-days, no ſooner does an *unlawful Act* at his proper Home, but away he runs, *forty*, *fifty*, or a *hundred Miles*; and by this means, not only avoids the Puniſhment of the Law, but grows a ſtill more thorough-paced *Villain*.

3*dly*, A Spirit of *Connivance* at Crimes; which now unhappily poſſeſſes the Generality of People, as is very plain from the Difficulty to get *Evidences* againſt a *Criminal*. This *Spirit*, which is owing, in ſome, to a *Likeneſs of Guilt*, and in others, to a *falſe Pity*, and ill-directed *Good-Nature*, is cheriſhed, even among many honeſt People of *Subſtance*, from the Incendiary Letters, Threats and Miſchiefs, that have been practiſed in our Time; which have *ſealed* the Mouth of many a *timorous Man*. I have myſelf known ſeveral Inſtances of *People of Subſtance*, who have been afraid to give their *Evidence*, or do their *Duty*, againſt Perſons of a thorough bad Reputation, for fear of having *private Miſchief* done them.

4*thly*, The great *Charge* which *Pariſh-Officers* may cauſe to their Pariſh, and *Trouble* to themſelves, in ſtirring to put the Laws in Execution, at a Time when almoſt every Pariſh is full of *poor Intruders* who come without *Certificates* from their Pariſhes, Perſons guilty of *Baſtardy*, Runagate *Inmates*, *Children* who run away from their *Apprenticeſhips*, *Servants* who come without *Teſtimonials*, *Vagrants*, &c. of which I will give one Inſtance: (Suppoſe) a *Vagabond Fellow* has run away from his Country, and made a ſhift to hire a Houſe, and bring a *Wife*, or *Whore*, and, it may be, ſeveral *Children* into a Pariſh;---the Officers move, according to Duty, to carry him Home. 1*ſt*, There is a Warrant to take him up, coſts *One Shilling*; his Examination, *One Shilling* more; the Order for Removal, *Five* or *Ten Shillings*; beſides the *Loſs* of Time, and *Expence* of Attendance. *Next*, it may be, the *Intruder*'s Pariſh is *fifty*, a *hundred*, or a *hundred and fifty* Miles off; a Pariſh muſt be put to a very great *Charge*, and the Officers to as great *Trouble*, in the *Removal* of ſuch a Family. When all this is done, perhaps, the Fellow has perjured himſelf, or the Children may be *Baſtards*, born in *Vagrancy* elſewhere; and there enſues a *Law-Suit*, more expenſive and troubleſome than what has paſſed

paſſed already; the Deciſion of which is *doubtful* into the Bargain. Such poſſible, nay probable, Events as this, together with the leſſer *Troubles* and *Charges*, that do frequently ariſe from *Baſtardy*, *Vagrants*, *Misbehaviour*, &c. in a Time of ſuch *Epidemical Diſorder* as the preſent, do all concur in creating Diſcouragements to *honeſt Publick-ſpirited Officers*, and is no ſmall Reaſon why our Laws in theſe Reſpects are ſo *ill-executed*, and *Iniquity* ſo much abounds! To which we may add,

5*thly*, The *little Care* which is taken to make *Houſholders* anſwer for the *Misbehaviour* of their *Inmates*.

From theſe *Five Cauſes* laſt mentioned, of the Diſorders and Licentiouſneſs now reigning in *England*, I think, we may reaſonably conclude, from the *Nature of Things*, that hardly any thing can effectually cure them, unleſs it ſhall, in Imitation of King *Alfred*'s Inſtitutions,

1*ſt*, Divide our preſent *Hundreds* and *Tythings*, that, agreeable with their Names, the *former* may not amount to *Two Hundred*, nor the *latter* to *Twenty*, *Houſes*; by means of the *Smallneſs* of which Diviſions, the *Officers* of the *Peace* will be enabled to look more eaſily and carefully to the Diſcharge of their *Duty*.

2*dly*, Make every *Tything* and *Hundred* anſwerable, by way of a *good Fine*, for any Crime committed within it, or by any Perſon belonging to it; unleſs they can bring the *Offender* to Juſtice, within a *ſet Time*; or, at the End of it, can prevail upon *three* honeſt diſintereſted Men, out of each of *three* neighbouring Hundreds, with the *Conſtable* and *two* more of the ſame Hundred, to give their Opinion on *Oath* of the *Innocency* of the Hundred and Tything, not only as to the Fault and Flight of the *Delinquent*, but alſo, that they have omitted nothing, proper to bring him to *Juſtice*, ſince his *Flight*.

3*dly*, Make every Perſon who ſhall entertain a *New-Comer*, or let either *Houſe* or *Lodgings* to a *New Family*, anſwerable to the *King*, by *Fine*, for any Crime or Offence, ſuch *New-Comers* may commit, after they ſhall have entertained them, in either of the above-mentioned Ways, *two Nights*; except they ſhall bring a Teſtimonial of their *good Behaviour*, ſigned by the *Conſtable* of the Hundred whence they came, and deliver to the *Conſtable* of the Hundred they come to reſide or live in. And ſo, in like manner, to the *Pariſh*; to pay all Expence it ſhall be put to, by ſuch *intruding* Perſon or Family; except a *lawful Certificate* be brought to the *Pariſh-Officers*, from the *Officers*, &c. whence the Perſon or Family came.

4*thly*, Make every Perſon who ſhall *relieve* a Vagrant, or *buy* any thing, the Travelling with which to *ſell*, is, by our Laws, deemed *Begging*, liable to maintain and provide for the Perſon they ſo *relieve*, one Year afterwards; at the End of which, the *Beggar* to be accounted a *legal Pariſhioner*, where the *Reliever* dwells; but if the *Conſtable* or *Tythingman* of the Place, did ſee the Perſon *begging*, *wandring*, or *misbehaving* himſelf, let him be liable, at his own Expence, to maintain him *ſix Months* of the Year above-mentioned, if he did not apprehend him, according to his Duty.

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We will now conclude this *Propoſal*, with a few neceſſary Explanations.

According to this *Scheme*, there would be one or more *Conſtables* in almoſt every Pariſh; few Pariſhes having now ſo few as a *hundred Houſes* in them; but where they fall ſhort, two or more contiguous Pariſhes may be, as at preſent, joined together, and the *Hundreds* might have the ſame *certain Limits*, as the *Tythings* have now. But there would be a great deal of Difficulty and Trouble in making certain little *Allotments* of Land, round every *ten*, or between that Number, and *twenty* Houſes, for every *Tythingman* to know the Extent of his Juriſdiction; which Trouble may, I think, be avoided, and yet the *Order* here propoſed to be eſtabliſhed, preſerved. For in Caſes of *Crime* or *Miſdemeanour*, it is reaſonable that a *Tythingman* or *Headborough* ſhould be empower'd to ſeize any *Criminal* or *ſuſpected* Perſon uſually inhabiting within his Decennary, wherever he can find him within the Hundred; which will be more effectual to the ſpeedy apprehending of *ill People*, than confining an Officer within narrower Bounds. So that now there remains no Difficulty on that Head, but the Diviſion of the Houſes into *Decennaries*, which indeed is not worth mentioning, and the placing any new-erected Houſes within ſome *Decennary*, which, if built in a doubtful Place, ought to be allotted to ſome *Tything* or other, at a Meeting of the *Conſtable* and all the *Tythingmen*, next after ſuch Houſe is built.

Alfred's making every Tything and Hundred anſwerable for the *good Behaviour* and *Appearance* of every Perſon in it, was certainly a very wiſe and effectual Way to make each Perſon watch the Conduct of his Neighbour, and endeavour to detect him in his *Crimes*, thro' the always powerful and prevailing Principle of *Self-Love*; and is therefore the only Way to cure that *Spirit of Connivance*, we have ſpoken of above. For when a Man is ſure that his own Pocket muſt one Day pay *dear* for his Silence, and withal, that if a Perſon ſhould do him any *Miſchief*, no Place will dare to receive him if he runs away, and that he can hardly eſcape the Puniſhment of the Law; there will not be one in twenty, who will conceal his Neighbour's Faults.——But whereas the Circumſtances of the Nation are much altered from what they were in *Alfred*'s Time, ſo that the Majority of a Tything may be ſo poor, that they can pay no Money; let ſuch poor People undergo ſome *corporal Puniſhment*, which ſhall be judged equal to the *Fine* payed by their more *ſubſtantial* Neighbours; which will be no more than is juſt, every Perſon being liable to Puniſhment, only, in his *proper Capacity*. Nor, is the Way taken for a Tything to clear itſelf from Suſpicion, leſs *wiſe* and *excellent*; for as the *Nine* to be taken from the neighbouring *Decennaries*, might ſome time or other be in the *like Caſe*, This is enough to make them judge with Candour, and make all reaſonable Allowances to excuſe their *Neighbour Decennary*; at the ſame time, that it obliged every *Tything* to endeavour to preſerve a *good Reputation*, for fear that, in Time of Need, they might not be able to prevail with their Neighbours to undertake for them. Laſtly, the new Diviſion propoſed above, hath

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the ſame Reaſon for it now, as was for that in *Alfred*'s Time. The Reaſon for making ſuch *ſmall Diviſions* then, was not only, that all Perſons in a Tything might know one another; but alſo, that they might ſee eaſily when any one entertained an *Inmate*, or brought a *New-comer*, or *misbehaved* himſelf; all which is both reaſonable and neceſſary, where a Society is bound for the *good Behaviour* of its Members; which Reaſon ſtill continues in the ſame Force: For, ſince the Nation is increaſed, in many Places, perhaps, more than *ten* to *one*, to what it was at that Time, as it is hardly poſſible that they ſhould have ſuch *ſtrict Eye* upon one another, nay, in many Places, that they ſhould ſo much as *know* each other; it would ſeem very hard, in that Caſe, that Perſons ſhould be liable to be *fined* or *puniſhed* for one another's Misbehaviour. For which Reaſon, as our Law ſeems to have taken from theſe *Saxon Frank-Pledges*, the Obligation which it now lays in ſome Caſes, as of *Robbery*, *malicious Setting fire to Houſes*, &c. on the *Hundred*, to pay the Damage; it is much to be wiſhed that the ſame ſtrict and eaſy Method of keeping People in *Order*, and of detecting *Rogues*, was alſo continued.

The making every Perſon who ſhall bring a *New-comer* into a Tything or Pariſh, whether by letting him a *Houſe* or *Lodgings*, or as an *Inmate*, *Servant*, *Apprentice*, or *Journeyman*, anſwerable for his *good Behaviour* to the Tything and Hundred, and alſo for any *Charge*, ſuch Perſon or his Family, may put the Pariſh to, would effectually make all *New-comers* bring ſuch *Teſtimonials* and *Certificates* with them, becauſe few would run the Riſque of entertaining them without it; which would, at once, cure ſeveral very great, dangerous, and expenſive Evils, which now hurt the Publick; it would be very difficult for *Robbers*, &c. to find Places to reſort to, and hide in; none could run away from Juſtice, or from their Service, Pariſh, or Family; and the Trouble of *Juſtices of the Peace* and *Pariſhes* about ſettling People *chargeable*, or feared to be *chargeable*, would be at an End. Whereas now, the greateſt Part of theſe Dangers, of this Trouble and Expence, is occaſioned by People who have *little Intereſt*, either in the Welfare of the *Publick*, or of their *Pariſh*; who muſt bear the *Burthens* they are pleaſed to ſaddle them with.

If any Thing will effectually put a Stop to the infinite Number of *Vagrants* and *Beggars*, with whom this Nation is now ſo ſhamefully over-run, in Defiance of *Laws* which, one would think, were more than ſufficient, and were they faithfully *executed*, as they are wiſely *made*, would be more than ſufficient to cauſe, that there ſhould be no ſuch Thing as a *Vagrant* or *Beggar* in the Kingdom; I ſay, if any Thing can effectually ſuppreſs them, it is what I propoſed above, *(viz.)* The making the *Reliever* and the *Officer*, the one for the *Encouragement* he gives, and the other for *neglecting his Duty*, liable to the immediate Maintenance of the *Vagrant* for one Year. And the ſubjecting the *Pariſh* to maintain him afterwards, one would think, ſhould, together with the *new Regulations* propoſed above, be enough to make the preſent *Laws* againſt *Vagabonds* effectual; for not only the Pariſh would be bound to maintain him afterwards, but the

Tything, into which he would be hereby incorporated, and that might be put to anſwer for his *future Misbehaviour*, would be highly intereſted in the apprehending him.

If to theſe was added, ſtill farther, in Imitation of the regular Order of our *Saxon Anceſtors*, That every Perſon who ſhould entertain a *Stranger*, guilty or ſuſpected of committing a *Crime*, but *one Night*, ſhould be obliged to get the *Conſtable* of his Hundred, and *two* more of *honeſt Reputation*, of his Neighbours, to go before a *Magiſtrate* or proper *Court*, to give on Oath their Opinion of his *Innocency*, or pay a *good Fine*; it would moſt effectually put a Stop, both to *Publick Robbers*, and to the *Diſorders* of our Alehouſes. For it is a Misfortune to *England*, that the *Edge* of her *Laws* points chiefly againſt *Robbers* themſelves; but (with Submiſſion be it ſpoken) not enough againſt their *lurking Dens!* Now, were there no Houſes of *ill Character* allowed in our *Hundreds* and *Tythings*, to be the Receptacles of *Villains*, we ſhould ſoon find them obliged to keep at Home, and live honeſt.

But was ſuch *ſtrict Order* ever to take place again in our Iſland, That the *Poor* might not be thereby debarr'd from going to work abroad and get their Livelihood, every *Conſtable*, and *Pariſh-Officers* ought to be obliged to give a poor Man, a Teſtimonial of his *good Behaviour*, and Certificate of his *Pariſh* when required, or to ſhew Cauſe of *Refuſal* before ſome Magiſtrate or proper Court. For, many Pariſhes do now impoſe a *real Hardſhip* on their Poor, and confine 'em within their Pariſh, or force 'em to ſhift about where they can, like *Vagrants*, by denying them *legal Certificates*: Whether any Pariſh can do ſo *lawfully*, being no *Lawyer*, I do not take upon me to determine; but to look upon it in a Light of Reaſon, it ſeems far from either *humane* or *juſt*, to add one Miſery to another, by confining a Man to his Pariſh, where perhaps he can hardly get Bread, only for his Misfortune in being *Poor*; beſides, that it may in ſome Caſes be prejudicial both to our *Tradeſmen* and *Farmers*. On the other hand, their being *confined* to their *Pariſh*; or even, in caſe they were to be *ſent back* to it, for any *Crime* or *Misbehaviour*; would be no more than a mild and reaſonable Puniſhment, which would greatly contribute towards making poor People live in an *orderly* Manner, and *behave well*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A Propoſal for aboliſhing our Taxes on Commodities, *and raiſing the publick Supplies by a Tax on the* Income *of the Subjects. Some Account of the* Exciſes *in* Spain, *and their Abolition; That there is a greater Neceſſity of doing the ſame here; That Taxes on Commodities reſt on the Conſumer, not on* Land; *The Tax eſtabliſhed in* Spain, *by* Ximines, *the moſt natural and juſt* Method of Taxation, *and is therefore, proper to be eſtabliſhed in every Country, but particularly in* Great-Britain, *at this Time.*

TO conſider the pernicious Effects of our *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes*, in Regard to thoſe great Eſſentials of natural Happineſs, *Liberty*, *Trade*, and the *Morals* of infinite Numbers of our People; there is nothing which a *good Engliſhman* ought more ardently to wiſh to ſee accompliſhed, than the Abolition of *Duties*, or *Taxes*, on COMMODITIES.

But, alas! among the many Nations with whom this hurtful Method of Taxing hath been eſtabliſhed, there have been ſo very few Inſtances of its being ever *aboliſhed*, till after it hath had the principal Hand in putting an End to the *Liberty*, ruining the *Trade*, and leſſening the *Riches* and *Power* of the Common-wealth; that the Precedents of other Nations, ſet but a melancholy Proſpect before our Eyes! They have, in general, loſt their former *Freedom*: And, I wiſh that *Great-Britain*, by too much adopting their *arbitrary Maxims*, may not one Day follow their unhappy Fate of *Slavery!*

Indeed, the Hiſtory of *Spain*, furniſhes an Inſtance of their timely and peaceable Abolition, by the Authority of Cardinal *Ximines*, whom Dr. *Geddes* * hath moſt deſervedly characterized, as *the wiſeſt and moſt diſintereſted Stateſman that* Spain, *or, perhaps, any other Kingdom ever had.* 'Tis well worth remarking too, that this was done under the two *greateſt* and *wiſeſt Princes* that ever governed in that Kingdom, *viz. Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*; through whoſe Princely Care, the People of *Spain*, not only enjoyed ſuch a *Golden Age* of Happineſs, as rendered their Memory *dear* to *After-Ages*, like that of the immortal *Queen Elizabeth* among us; but theſe are the *Princes* who lay'd the Foundation of all the *Greatneſs* and *Riches*, paſt, preſent, and to come, of that potent and flouriſhing *Monarchy*. *Thuanus* rightly obſerves, to the Glory of this Reign, *Nomen Hiſpanicum obſcurum antea & Vicinis pene incognitum, tum primum emerſit; tractuque temporis in tantam magnitudinem excrevit, ut formidoloſum ex eo & terribile toti terrarum Orbi eſſe cæperit.* Truly, nothing is a more glorious Indication of that *Royal Virtue* and *Benevolence*, whereon the Power and

* Miſc. Tracts, Vol. I. p. 207.

Greatneſs of Kingdoms are always built and upheld, than the Readineſs which the *Queen Iſabella* ſhewed to eaſe her Subjects of *Caſtile*, of the Oppreſſions of the *Alcavala*, or *Exciſe*, on the Complaint * of her Miniſter.

It was a rare Inſtance of *true Patriotiſm* indeed, to ſee a *Great Miniſter* complaining to his *Sovereign* againſt the Oppreſſions which the People ſuffered from an *Exciſe*, and beſeeching her to put an End to his own *Power to oppreſs*; a Power of which *Miniſters* are generally too fond to part with, till they have by it gone large Steps towards putting an End to, either their Fellow-Subjects *Liberty*, or their Sovereign's *Kingſhip!* But this was the Work of a *wiſe* and *diſintereſted Miniſter*; a Miniſter who knew how to gain *Publick Authority*, by ſacrificing *private Influence*, and to erect to his Royal Maſter and Miſtreſs an Empire of *Love* and *Loyalty* in the Hearts of their People, wherein conſiſt both the Strength and Glory of Princes.

I believe, it cannot be denied, that *Great-Britain* hath, on ſeveral Accounts, much greater Reaſon to wiſh for the Aboliſhment of this Method of Taxing, than *Spain* had at that Time.——*1ſt*, The *Alcavala* amounted to no more than the *Tenth* Part of the Value of the Goods, which was taken of all that were either *ſold* or *exchanged*; whereas, our *Duties* on Commodities are well known to be much higher.——*2dly*, The Power which our *Officers of the Revenue* have to enter and ſearch *Ships* and *private Houſes*; whereas, in *Spain*, they took the *Oath* of the Merchant and Saleſman, to decide the *Price* or *Value* of the Goods.—And, *3dly*, The Welfare of *Britain* depends in a much more abſolute Manner on her *Trade*, than that of *Spain* did; for the Kings of *England* have not the *Mines* of the *Indies* to ſubſiſt on, as the Kings of *Spain* have, which were diſcovered in the Reign of the Princes above-mentioned. 'Tis true, we have had, God be thanked, our Share of thoſe *Riches*, with the *Owners* themſelves; but it is to our *Liberties* which encourage the Subject to traffick, and to our *Trade* that we are indebted for it: It is *theſe*, which, together with the natural *Bravery* of our People, have rendered *Great-Britain formidable* to her Neighbours, and ſo many Times *victorious* over her Enemies. And therefore, it deſerves well to be conſidered, that whatever Oppreſſions and Diſcouragements our *Liberties* and *Trade* lie under from the Method of collecting our *yearly Revenue*; this Nation not only grows ſo much the *weaker* and *poorer* within herſelf, but her Enemies, as they are hereby enabled to get our *Trade* from us, become ſo much the *richer* and *ſtronger*.

What hath been ſaid, as it tends to ſhew our Readers the great Neceſſity we lie under to make ſome Alterations in the *Method of collecting* our Revenue; ſo, I hope, it will have its due Weight to make every one uſe his honeſt and prudent Endeavours to promote it according to his Ability, if ever a proper Time ſhould come. But,

* Hiſtoire du Xim. Liv. 1.

alas!

alas! ſuch a Time, conſidering our preſent Circumſtances, is rather to be *wiſhed* or *deſired*, than *hoped* for. However, before we preſume, with Submiſſion to better Judgments, humbly to propoſe a *Method of Taxation*, which will free us from theſe *Evils*, we will beg leave to uſe ſome farther Arguments to diſpoſe the Nation in general, to favour a *Scheme of Taxing*; which being eſtabliſhed on the only juſt Principle, *viz.* the *Incomes* and *Abilities* of thoſe who pay, will be, I hope, as near as poſſible, *equal* and *juſt* between the ſeveral Intereſts of the *Landed Gentleman*, *Merchant*, *Trader*, and others, whereof the common *National Intereſt* is made up.

Juſtice and *Equity* are the very *Eſſence* of what we call *Civil* or *Political Liberty*; and the great End of *Society*, is to adminiſter them, indifferently, among the different Members of it. For this Reaſon, as the juſt and equitable Rights of ſociate Members, may be as much injured by an *unequal Manner* of laying the publick Taxes, as in any other Way whatſoever; no leſs Care ought to be taken to lay the Burthen *equally* on the Shoulders of all, than to *do Juſtice* to particular Men. Nay, farther, *ſound Policy*, and a Regard to the *general Intereſt*, both of Government and People, require ſtill greater Care; for, altho', when Taxes are *light*, or propoſed to dure but a *ſhort Time*, their Partiality may be borne with and over-looked; yet, when a *War*, or a large *publick Debt*, make it neceſſary to impoſe a heavy *ſtanding Tax* upon a People, the *Inequality* of it, is an Hindrance to the Nation, in exerting her full Strength, either to maintain the *War*, or diſcharge the *Debt*, in an exact Proportion, as any one Body of Men is excuſed, and another over-charged. For Inſtance; ſuppoſe *Taxes* to be laid ſo unequally, that any large Body of a Nation ſhould not pay *Half*, a *Third*, or *Fourth Part* of their juſt Share with the reſt; that Share of their Subſtance, ſo favoured or exempt, might not unjuſtly be compared to a large *Body of Troops* in an Army, which, before a Battle, ſhould ſeparate themſelves from the others, and remain idle Spectators of the Combat, whilſt their Fellows engaged the common Enemy: For which Reaſons, certainly, the nearer a Tax comes to *juſt* and *impartial*, the more it is for our *Country*'s Intereſt, and the better all *juſt Governors* and *publick-ſpirited* Men will like it.

In our preſent Circumſtances, it is alſo well worth every *Engliſhman*'s while to conſider what will be the probable Conſequence, if his Country ſhould be forced to engage in a *War*, before any conſiderable Part of the *National Debt* is pay'd off. Let us ſuppoſe only, that ſuch a War might laſt as long as the *late War* did, and coſt as many *Millions*, even, altho' it was to be attended with the like almoſt unparallelled Courſe of Victories; I am apt to think, it will puzzle the *ableſt Head* to ſhew how the Money can be raiſed to defray the Expence, according to the *preſent Method* of collecting the publick Revenue, without bringing ſo many *Families* to Ruin, as will greatly endanger the Nation's falling into very extraordinary Convulſions. We ſeem, at preſent, under the *Hard Dilemma*, of either having our TRADE cut ſhort by the inſulting *Depredations* and *Plunders*, which

which *Spain* hath, for a long Time, with Impunity, committed on our MERCHANTS; or, of revenging the *Oppreſſions* and *Barbarities* which that *moſt uſeful Body* of Men have ſo long ſuffered; whoſe *unparallalled Induſtry*, *Contempt of Dangers*, and *Pains*, are the great Support of the Nation, and have raiſed her to all her paſt or preſent Greatneſs. And if this juſt and neceſſary Vindication of the Nation's Honour, and our Merchants Wrongs, ſhould be the Beginning of a long and tedious War, hardly any thing ſeems capable to ſupport the Expence of it, but an *equal Tax* on the Subjects, joined to a *Reduction* of our other Expences, and the utmoſt *Frugality* in our publick Oeconomy.

But, becauſe ſome *Authors* of great Authority, and unqueſtionable Publick Spirit, have ſeemed to be of Opinion, that, let our *Taxes* be layed where they will, they are payed by the *Land* at laſt; which, if it were really the Caſe, not only invalidates any Scheme of Taxing, by which *Traders* and *others* are propoſed to be Rated; but proves that the only *juſt* and *wiſe* Way of Taxing, is to lay the whole Charge of the Government immediately on the *Land*, let it amount to what it will; [for *Taxes* certainly fall the *heavier* at laſt, the more Hands they paſs through, before they are repayed by the *real Payer*.] To take away any Objection that may be made on this Account, I ſhall next endeavour to ſhew, that *Merchants*, *Traders*, and *others*, whoſe Subſtance doth not conſiſt, nor their Maintenance ariſe from a *Landed Eſtate*, may be *taxed*, and do at preſent pay out of their own Pockets, their full Share of the *Publick Revenue*, raiſed by Cuſtoms and Exciſes, without being ever re-imburſed in the Way of *Trade*. This, I ſay, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew as briefly as I can: In which, if I am miſtaken; as a *Lover of Truth*, I ſhall rejoice in nothing more, than to be ſet right: As, on the contrary, if what we have advanced ſhould be proved to be *true*, we ſhall ſtill retain the moſt perfect *Eſteem*, both for that *Great Philoſopher*, who firſt advanced this Notion, and alſo for thoſe *excellent Patriots* ſtill living, who borrowed it from him, and, on a late memorable Occaſion, made ſo *good Uſe* of his Authority and admirable Arguments.——To proceed then:

When a Tax is layed on any *Commodity*, it is very plain, that it does not reſt on the *Merchant* who imports it, if it be of *foreign* Produce; nor on the *Maker*, *Seller* or *Retailer*, if of *Home* Growth or Manufacture: The *Tax* is only advanced before-hand by Theſe to the Government, every one of whom lends his Money to the *Conſumer*, who repays it at laſt with *Uſury*, in the *Advantages* taken on that Account upon him. If indeed, after this, every *Conſumer* of our Cuſtomed or Exciſed Goods, had his whole Subſtance in *Land*, or was wholly maintained by it; then, it would be to no purpoſe to look out to lay our Taxes on any beſides the *Landed-Man*. But as there are infinite Numbers of *Conſumers* whoſe Incomes ariſe from *Trade* and other *Buſineſſes*, who have no Subſtance at all in *Land*, nor the leaſt Part of their Maintenance depends on it; 'tis impoſſible, that the Share of the *Publick Revenue* which they pay in the *taxed Commo-*

dities they consume, can in any Shape whatever revert on the *Land*, so as to be to be payed by it at last.

There seems to be no possible Way for such a Person to make himself whole again, but by raising the Price of what he *sells* or *lives on*, accordingly. And suppose, a *Merchant*, *Trader*, or one of any *Calling* independent on the *Land*, on being obliged to pay a certain Sum towards the *Supplies* of the Government, either in the *Commodities* he consumes, or by the Money being layed directly on him, should be able to raise the Price of the Commodity he deals in, a little, so as to get it again: Why may not the *Farmer*, *Grasier*, &c. do the same, on the *Corn*, *Cattle*, *Wool*, *Cheese*, and other Things produced by our *Lands*? So that, the *Tax* would only occasion a *mutual Rise* of Commodities, equally beneficial and prejudicial, on all Sides.—— But to come closer to the Point: Altho' it can't be denied, that the *Price of Things* is affected this Way; yet, every *Man of Business* knows it is very far from being in the Power of any *Salesman* whoever, to repay himself his Share of *Taxes* in this Manner; for, as every Person lives on his particular *Employment*, he must raise or fall the Prices of Things, as the *Times* go, and he can get *Customers*; or *starve*, for want of *Business*. For which Reason, the *Merchant* and *Trader* can no more re-imburse themselves the Taxes they pay, by fair Dealing, than the *Landed-Man* can; it being out of the Power of all (without *private Combinations*) to sell their *Goods* at their own *Price*.

This may help to make us see pretty distinctly, where the *heavy Weight* of our Publick Taxes doth at present, or may hereafter fall: Our *Land-Tax* and *Window-Tax*, are certainly particular Burthens on the *Landed-Man*, from which the *Merchant* and *Trader* may be said to be free. But of all That, by much the greatest Part of our *Revenue*, which is collected by Customs and Excises, the *Merchants*, *Traders* and *others*, pay their full Share, according to the *Commodities* they consume, with their Fellow-Subjects in the *Landed Interest*. That Part which is payed by the *poor Labourer* and *Handy-Craftsman*, is, indeed, partly repayed them, in the advanced Price of Labour; Those whom they *serve*, and who pay 'em *Wages* for their Service, (whether *Gentlemen*, *Farmers*, *Merchants*, *Traders*, or any else) are their *Repayers*. But the Question is, whether any Body repays *These*, and who? The only Answer to which is, That when Trade is *good*, and Commodities bear a *good Price*, the *Buyer* repays it. But when, by this advanced Price, our Neighbours are enabled to under sell and get our Trade from us, the Burthen reverts on our own Shoulders. The Merchant and Trader feel it, in the *Failure* of their Business; the Farmer, in the *low Price* of the Product of his Land; the Landlord, in the *Fall* of his Rents; the Poor, in their *Starving* Condition; our Landed Estates, in the prodigious *Encrease* of Poor Rates. And after our *Taxes*, and the *pernicious* and *expensive* Manner in which they are now collected, shall have driven our Merchants from us, and diverted the Channel of Trade to other Nations; then will come the *dreadful Time*, when the whole Burthen of the

the Revenue will reſt on the *Land*, which will be ſtill more and more unable to bear it: becauſe, tho' *high Taxes* may drain it away by Degrees from its preſent Owners, it cannot, like *Trade*, be tranſported to the other Side the *Seas*.

From what hath been ſaid, it ſeems very plain, that Taxes raiſed by Cuſtoms and Exciſes, are really payed by the *Conſumers* of the Commodities on which they are layed; except the *Poor*, who notwithſtanding feel the Burthen in ſome Degree. Therefore, there is nothing which all Parties have ſo much Reaſon to deſire, as to ſee our Taxes taken off from *Commodities*, by which TRADE will be ſet free from its preſent Incumbrances; and layed directly on the *Subjects*, according to every one's *Ability*. In which Method, they may be collected in the ſame Manner as the *Land-Tax* is at preſent; and not only the *immenſe Expence* of maintaining ſo many *Revenue-Collectors*, will be ſaved to the Nation; but the *Advantages* now taken by every Dealer in *taxed Goods*, will be at an End; the Money that uſes to go to pay the *Duty*, will be free to be layed out in encreaſing *Trade*; and conſequently, the *Advantages* mentioned, which are honeſtly taken by every *Dealer*, to ſave himſelf harmleſs in that Article, ſaved in the *Conſumer*'s Pocket.——In a Word, the only Hardſhip or Incumbrance then remaining, will be, the *Weight of the Tax*; which every one ought, not only to be content with, but glad to bear, as the *Neceſſities* of the Publick require; becauſe he has what is of infinitely greater Value for his Money: Which being the neceſſary Support of the Government, under which he is protected, is the eaſy Price he pays for the free Enjoyment of his *Religion*, *Liberty*, *Life* and *Property*.

We ſhall now proceed, humbly to propoſe ſome *Alterations* in the Method of collecting the *Publick Revenue*, in Imitation of That of the *Great Miniſter* mentioned already; which, we hope, will free us from the *Evils* at preſent complained of, without bringing on any *new ones* in their ſtead, which are comparable to them.

After * *Ximines* on his Complaint to the Queen, of the Oppreſſions, Frauds and Diſorders cauſed by the *Alcavala* or *Exciſe*, had received Orders to find out a Remedy for them for the future; he cauſed to come from *Biſcay*, *D. Lopez*, a Perſon of great Skill in the Finances, and who had much Experience in the Levying of *Money*; with whom he contrived Means to raiſe the Money in ſuch a Manner, that the King's Revenue ſhould not be diminiſhed, the Penſions and Salaries more regularly payed, and the People relieved. To effect This, they firſt counted the Sum which came in *clear*, every Year, to the King; which they divided betwixt the *Cities*, *Towns* and *Villages*, to be payed by each, according to its *Greatneſs*, *Riches* and *Trade*. They appointed *Receivers* in every City to collect the Tax, and make Remittances of the Money to the Treaſury. They Farmed the *extraordinary Tenths* which were taken on foreign Merchandizes, and Sales between the Citizens, to the *Citizens* themſelves;

* Hiſtoire du Xim. Liv. 1.

with

with Orders to pay regularly the Penſions and Salaries due on them. Hereby, all *Proceſſes* on this Account were put an End to, and this Source of *falſe Oaths*, *Vexations*, and *Frauds*, was aboliſhed; which, ſays the *Writer of his Life*, gained *Ximines* a thouſand Bleſſings of the *People*, who, being eaſed of the Expence and Trouble of this Method of Taxing, looked upon him as the Author of their Peace and Liberty.

One Thing is obſervable, from the brief Account given of this Affair by this Writer, that the *Alcavala* was not *perfectly aboliſhed*; as we may conclude from the *extraordinary Tenths* which were ſtill taken on *Merchandizes* and *Sales*, that were *farmed* to the Citizens; which ſeems to have been done, to prevent the Vexations and Charge that neceſſarily attended the Collection by *Officers*; which *Remains* became afterwards Means of reviving the *old Vexations*. What confirms this, is, the Account Dr. *Geddes* gives in his *Hiſtory of the Wars of the Commons of* Caſtile, which were ſtirred up by the pernicious Counſels and Avarice of *Chevers*, the favourite Miniſter of *Charles* V. within a few Years after *Ximines*'s Death; where he tells us, that the City of *Toledo*, in her Letters, exhorted the other Cities and great Towns, not to pay the *Exciſes* called *Alcavalas* *. And, in the *Manifeſto*, ſoon after publiſhed by the JUNTA, to juſtify the *taking up Arms*; the Tenth Article demanded of the King, was, *That the Exciſes ſhould be reduced to the State they were in, at the Death of Queen* Iſabella†.——Which plainly ſhews the Truth of our Obſervation; and that the *Exciſe* quickly began to re-aſſume its former *Oppreſſions*, and was one of the chief Provocations to that unfortunate and ill-managed *War*, the Miſcarriage of which, gave the finiſhing Blow to the *Liberties* of *Spain*.

The *former Part* of this Method of Taxing, *viz.* Dividing the *Money* neceſſary to be raiſed, between the *Cities*, *Towns* and *Villages*, to be payed by each, according to its *Greatneſs*, *Riches* and *Trade*, (after which, it muſt of Neceſſity be ſubdivided by *proper Perſons*, and layed on every *Inhabitant*, according to his *Ability*) is certainly the moſt *natural* and *juſt* Way of Taxing, that can be eſtabliſhed in any Nation; and is ſo much the more deſirable by a *Free* and *Trading* People, as the moſt direct Way of impoſing it, is ſuch, as ſets *Publick Liberty* free from Danger, entails no imperceptible After-Incumbrances on Perſons, their *Trade* or *Goods*; but the whole Burthen reſts immediately on the Perſon and Eſtate that really pay it.

I ſhall not take upon me to lay down any particular Method, which is moſt proper to be eſtabliſhed farther, towards the Collecting a *Tax* of this Kind; which is the proper Work of thoſe who have the greateſt Experience and Skill in the *Levying* of Publick Money. But there cannot be much greater Difficulty in raiſing the *Annual Supplies*, by a Tax on the *Annual Income* of the Subjects, than hath been found to eſtabliſh any one of thoſe ſeveral Methods of *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſe*, *Land-Tax*, *Window-Tax*, &c. now in Uſe; nor

* See Miſcellan. Tracts, Vol. I. p. 230. † Ibid. p. 237.

near ſo much, as muſt needs have been to lay Taxes in ſo many *different Ways*. For here, All will be founded on *one Principle*, which is certainly the moſt *juſt* and *equal* one; and may be raiſed in *one Method*, that may be made perfectly agreeable with the *Liberty* of the Nation, and the *Intereſt* of Trade.——If any Sort of Men would be Rated at an Over-Proportion to their Fellow-Subjects, it would be thoſe in the *Landed* Intereſt, becauſe the Income of a *Landed Eſtate* is beſt known. In which Caſe, an *Oath* might be required of *Traders*, &c. to declare the *Yearly Income* of their Buſineſs; and they might be afterwards raiſed, or eaſed by *Appeal*, according as their *Buſineſs* ſhall appear to encreaſe or leſſen.

That the Taxing every one according to his *Yearly Income*, is the neareſt Rule that can be gone by, to meaſure his *Ability*, I believe, will be readily granted by all; becauſe every one is able to enlarge his Tax, according as his Subſtance encreaſes, without breaking in upon his *Eſtate* or *capital Stock*. This Principle is therefore, much more *juſt* than taxing the Subject according to his *Expences*, which is the Principle that *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes* are eſtabliſhed on; which, altho', in Reſpect to Commodities that are mere Implements of *Luxury*, may be ſaid to be a Tax on our *luxurious* and *extravagant Livers*; yet, in Reſpect to thoſe Things which are *Neceſſaries* and *Conveniencies of Life*, are, properly ſpeaking, a Tax on our *hoſpitable, charitable Livers*, and on People of *large Families*, who ſpend the greateſt Part of ſuch Goods.

This is likewiſe a *larger Fund* to anſwer all the Neceſſities which the Government may, at any Time, lie under for Money, than that on which the *publick Taxes* are at preſent raiſed. It is *large* as the Revenue of the *whole Nation*, and of *every Perſon* in it, let his *Income* ariſe from *Land*, *Trade*, *Mines*, or any *lucrative Buſineſs* whatever. Whereas, raiſing them on *Commodities*, lays the Burthen as *unequally* as the Expences of Perſons of *equal Eſtates* are *different*; which, beſides the *Hardſhip* juſt now taken Notice of, on People who are obliged to ſpend *plentifully*, muſt, of neceſſary conſequence, make the *publick Revenue* fail the ſooner, and force the Government to the fatal Expedient of contracting *national Debts*.

In Caſe ſuch a *Method of Taxing* was to be eſtabliſhed, it might admit of ſome Doubt, whether it would be beſt to let the Tax ariſing from the *Intereſt of Money*, be payable to the Government, or the Debtor: I ſhould prefer the *former*, was it not that *great Sums* of Money lent to private People, would probably eſcape being taxed at all. Whereas, if every *Debtor* was, by Law, empowered to deduct the *Tax* for his own Uſe, *yearly*, when he payed the *Intereſt* of the Money borrowed, the Tax would certainly be levied, without expoſing the *bad Circumſtances* of any one. And, if the *Debtor's* Eſtate, on which the Money was lent by Way of *Mortgage*, or the *yearly Gains* of his Buſineſs were rated the ſame with his Neighbours, the Government would have Tax on the *Intereſt* that Way; for, it would otherwiſe be *hard* on a Perſon whoſe *Lands* are mortgaged, or who is forced to *borrow* Money to carry on *Trade*, to be

forced

ſorced to pay Taxes *equal* with thoſe who have no ſuch Incumbrances.

To prevent any Objection that may be made to our Scheme, on Account of the *Hardſhip* it would be, to diſband at once, ſo great a Body of Men, as the *preſent Collectors* of our Cuſtom and Exciſe Revenues; we would humbly propoſe the converting them into *School-maſters*, in Caſe the Wiſdom of Parliament ſhould think fit, at the ſame Time, to eſtabliſh a Method of *publick Inſtruction of* YOUTH, like that which we have already preſumed to mention. In which Way of Life, altho' their *Income* might not be quite ſo large, yet, as it would certainly be more *honourable*, attended with leſs *Drudgery*, they would be in a Way of doing more *Good*, of gaining greater *Love* of their Countrymen, and their Habitation being more *fixed* than at preſent, they might withal, more generally enjoy Comforts of a *matrimonial Life*: We cannot but hope, they would, in a little Time, think themſelves *Gainers* by the *Change*, and may even become *Well-wiſhers* to the Propoſal.

To conclude, Rules might be taken more eaſily and juſtly, from ſuch a *Method of Taxing*, than from any thing elſe that I can think of, to regulate People's *Expences*, and to confine the *enormous Luxuries* of the Age, within ſome reaſonable Bounds. —— Were thoſe People, their Wives and Children, whoſe *Income* was not rated on the Taxes, at ſo much a Year, prohibited wearing *Silk*; another keeping a *Livery-Servant*; another ſtiling himſelf a *Gentleman*, *Eſquire*, &c. another keeping his *Coach*; another wearing *Jewels*, &c. it would go a good Way towards helping us out of that *Confuſion*, we are at preſent fallen into in theſe Things; and, at once, reſtore the *Honours* and *Diſtinctions* of this Sort, due to our *Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Merchants*, and others of real Ability; and give a beautiful Face of *Oeconomy* and *Order* to the State. In doing ſo, the *Laws* would, in ſome Meaſure, confine People to the Practice of *Frugality*, and take it out of their Power to ſpend their Subſtance in vainly *mimicking* their Superiors.

FINIS.

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